World Review

INCORPORATING REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY EDWARD HULTON

11 THE WAY OF THE WORLD
Sir R. H. Bruce Lockhart, K.C.M.G.

18 SPAIN'S DILEMMA
Shevawn Lynam

23 REPORT FROM PRAGUE
Francis Lint

29 JINNAH—MAN OF DESTINY?
Professor Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah

32 . . . AND THE WORLD SAID!

34 NO MORE FOREIGN AFFAIRS!
Gerald Samson

38 PROFILE (5) BARBARA WARD
J. R. St. John

40 DEMOCRACY AND THE FREE SOCIETY
John Middleton Murry

45 MY PERSONAL EXPORT DRIVE
Anthony Armstrong

48 ASPECTS OF MODERN PAINTING (8) THE INWARD EYE
Tom Harrisson

49 ART INSET

53 THE INWARD EYE (Contd.)

56 A POLICY FOR BUILDING
Ernest Marples, M.P.

60 THE NATURE OF TELEVISION
Ted Jones

64 FIFTY YEARS AGO

66 BOOK OF YESTERDAY:
Autobiography of John Stuart Mill, reviewed by C. E. M. Joad

70 NEW BOOKS

81 CORRESPONDENCE

83 CROSS-SECTION

OCTOBER 1947. PROPRIETORS: REVIEW OF REVIEWS LTD. 43 SHOE LANE, LONDON, E.C.4. CEN. 7400. *Published Monthly. Subscription rates: Inland* 20*s.* 6*d. p.a.,* 10*s.* 3*d. for six months; Foreign* 20*s. p.a.,* 10*s. for six months; Canada and Newfoundland,* 19*s.* 6*d. p.a.,* 9*s.* 9*d. for six months; U.S.A.* $4.75 *p.a.*

Nice . . .
but remember

Remember that your supplier can't sell you those nice cooling squashes and cordials unless you return an empty bottle when buying a full one.

Issued by The Soft Drinks Industry (War Time) Association Ltd., 42 Upper Grosvenor Street, London, W.1

S·D·I

CVS—70

Figure Heads

Figure heads have been a feature of ships since the earliest times when they were intended to ward off evil spirits. Later, they were purely decorative and Ships' Masters took great pride in them. Famous clippers often wore a figure head said to represent the owner, his wife, or a friend.

THE
"THREE CASTLES"
CIGARETTES

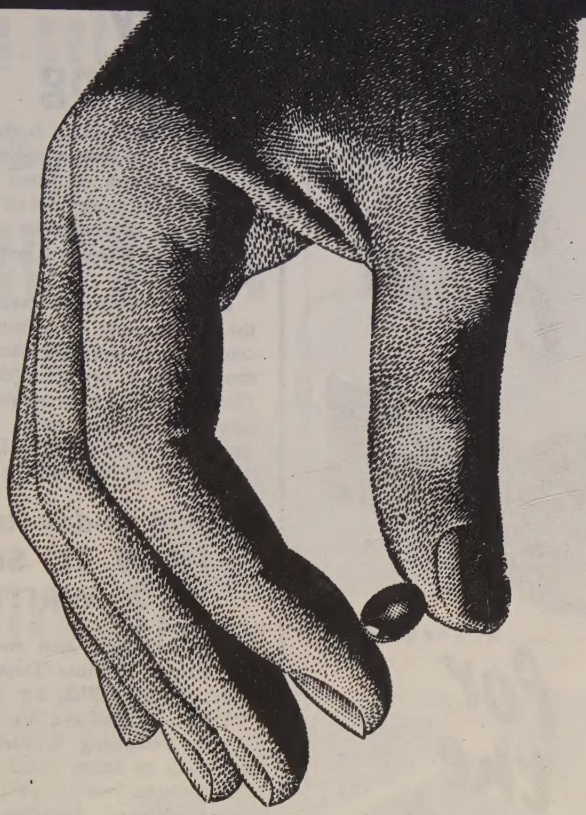
20 for 3/8

MANUFACTURED BY W. D. & H. O. WILLS

Branch of The Imperial Tobacco Co. (of Great Britain & Ireland), Ltd.

TT2205

C18



EXTRA VITAMINS FOR WINTER STRENGTH

How welcome to your body will be a course of Crookes Halibut Oil ! This will fortify your whole system against colds and influenza, by giving you that extra supply of essential vitamins A and D.

CROOKES

HALIBUT OIL

OBTAINABLE ONLY FROM CHEMISTS

FREE—an illustrated booklet showing you the relative vitamin values of your everyday foods. Write to The Crookes Laboratories Ltd., Dept. H259, Park Royal, London, N.W.10.

Short Story Writing

Short story writing is the ideal hobby.

If you have literary aptitude you can be trained to work up ideas into plots and make saleable stories out of them.

All types of stories are wanted, and the work of the unknown writer is carefully considered.

You can learn the essential technique the Regent way. In a fascinating course, conducted by post, the literary aspirant is shown how to get plots (the Regent Plot Finder taps dozens of sources of material), how to construct them, how to write dialogue, how to prepare MSS., and HOW TO SELL THEM for the best prices.

★Send to-day for HOW TO SUCCEED AS A WRITER

Take the first step to-day. Send to The Regent Institute (Dept. B/40), Palace Gate, London, W.8, for a free copy of "How to Succeed as a Writer."

This interesting booklet tells you all you want to know about the Institute's Courses—the fees are probably less than you think—and describes the openings for the free lance.

Write for your copy NOW. There is no obligation.

WAKE UP YOUR LIVER BILE

without Calomel—and you'll jump out of bed in the morning full of vim and vigour

The liver should pour out two pints of liquid bile into your bowels daily. If this bile is not flowing freely, your food doesn't digest. It just decays in the bowels. Gas bloats up your stomach. You get constipated. Your whole system is poisoned and you feel sour, sunk, and the world looks punk.

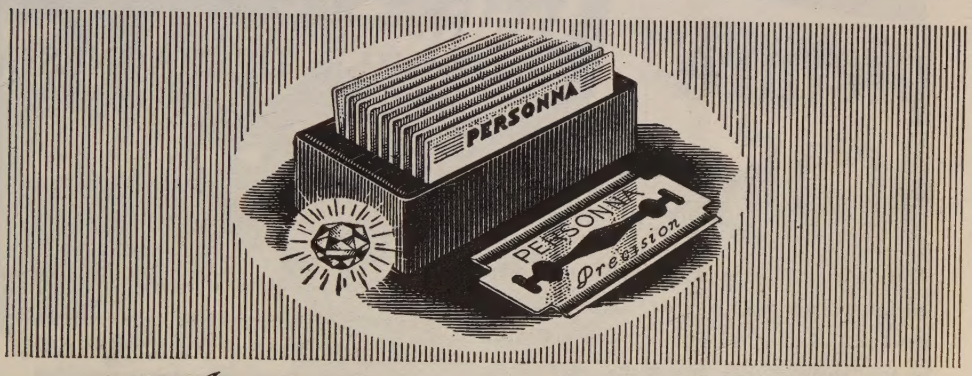
Laxatives help a little, but a mere bowel movement doesn't get at the cause. It takes those good old Carters Little Liver Pills to get these two pints of bile flowing freely and make you feel 'up and up.' Harmless, gentle, yet amazing in making bile flow freely. Ask for Carters Little Liver Pills. Stubbornly refuse anything else. 1/5 and 3/5.

Fine sets these FERGUSON's

F6

FERGUSON *Fine* RADIO for critical people

ADVERTISEMENT OF THORN ELECTRICAL INDUSTRIES LTD LONDON



A superb shaving instrument

made specially for men of discriminating taste

HERE is the most superb double-edged razor blade in the world—Personna, the precision blade. Like a barber's razor, it is hollow ground. So flexible, it follows the curves of the face with astonishing ease. Each blade passes 17 rigid inspections in the factory. The Personna precision blade will give you a master barber's shave with your own razor.

On sale at all high-class barbers, chemists, and stores. Priced at 5/- a box of 10 blades.

PERSONNA

PRECISION BLADES

Fine as a rare jewel

The picture of the year

And it's "gilt-edged", too — the new National Savings Certificate. It's yours for ten-bob. And it becomes 13/- in ten years — an increase of 30% *free of tax.* Buy these Certificates — there's profit in them! More than that, there's the peace of mind you get, knowing that you're tucking some money safely away into Savings. Go on with the good work! *Go on buying Savings Certificates.* Every Certificate you buy helps the Silver Lining Campaign.

Issued by the National Savings Committee

Convenient,

palatable,

effective . . .

'Milk of Magnesia'* Tablets, by effectively correcting acidity, give prompt relief from indigestion. They are pleasantly mint-flavoured; convenient to take whenever the need arises.

'MILK OF MAGNESIA' (*Reg.*)
TABLETS

* *Trade mark of Phillips' preparation of magnesia*

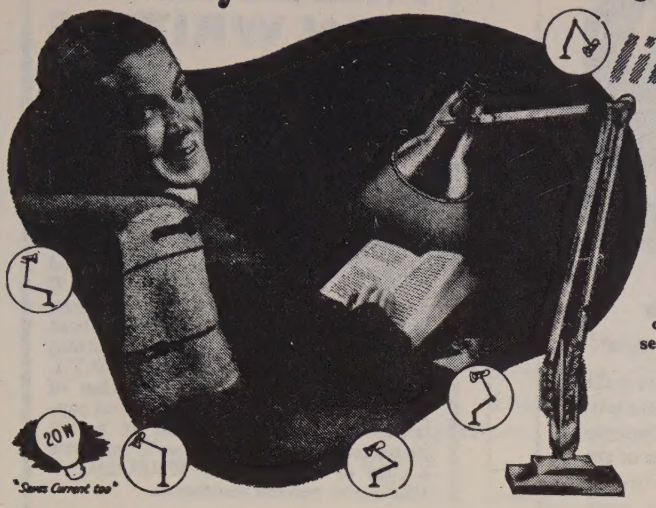
JOIN THE FUR CRUSADE

'How can any woman wear a trapped fur, knowing that every hair on that skin has vibrated with prolonged torture?' These were Grey Owl's words to me.

Write for leaflet of Fur Crusade and Humane Trapping Campaign, which names Furs you need not be ashamed to wear. Also tells you how to kill domestic animals and poultry humanely. Funds needed for advts.

Major C. Van der Byl, 49 Tregunter Road, South Kensington, S.W.10.

"I'm lucky... Ive got an Anglepoise *like this.."*



I treasure my Anglepoise because it takes any one of 1001 angles at a finger touch, puts the light right on the book or object, never sags or droops, and takes up very little room.

'I save a lot on light bills as I need only a 20 or 40 watt bulb—the light being so nicely concentrated. So you'll understand why Anglepoise orders outstrip supplies. Snap one up at your local shop *when* you see it—that's how I got mine!'

the **TERRY**
ANGLEPOISE LAMP
(Patented in all countries)

Sole Makers:
HERBERT TERRY & SONS LTD., REDDITCH

Two Lively Smiles! BUT..

Are you sure *your* teeth are safe? They may *look* nice, but—remember—unless your gums are healthy your teeth are in constant danger.

Take no chances; visit your dentist regularly, and use S.R. Toothpaste. The sodium ricinoleate in S.R. tones up the gums, strengthens their resistance to infection—keeping teeth *safe* as well as beautifully clean.

Gibbs **S.R.** **TOOTHPASTE** 1/4 *(inc. tax)*

GR 163-183-80

OPTREX *the* eye lotion

" Only the best is good enough for your eyes "

That is why we would not make a second-rate lotion during the war. That is why Optrex has been so scarce. But better supplies of the essential materials are now coming through, and so there is more Optrex about. Optrex Eye Compresses, too, are now available. Ask for them at your chemists.

Optrex Limited. Perivale, Middlesex

FREE BOOK FOR NEW WRITERS

Would you like to write articles, stories, radio scripts, etc., in your spare time, and sell what you write? You've probably thought about it often, but now you have a chance to get some expert advice—some 'inside' knowledge about writing for pleasure and profit.

BRILLIANTLY "DIFFERENT"

Here's a free handbook that's new and different. It's called 'SALEABLE WRITING', is forthright and honest, tells you what you want to know about *your* chances of success as an author, gives details of the successful B.T.I. home-study courses in all branches of Journalism and Fiction Writing, and contains many valuable hints. If you're interested, write now and we'll send you a copy of 'SALEABLE WRITING'—FREE and without obligation.

DEPT. OF JOURNALISM, B.T.I.,
598 AVON HOUSE,
356/366 OXFORD STREET,
LONDON, W.1

MRS JONES'S HUSBAND *seldom* CATCHES COLD!

—thanks to Mrs Jones...

and POTTER'S CATARRH PASTILLES. She sees that when 'colds are about' he is never without the handy tin. Wonderful for warding off cold-infection & influenza. Excellent for head colds, bronchitis, catarrh, hay fever, etc. In short supply but well worth seeking. 1/3 a tin.

and

POTTER'S CATARRH PASTILLES

C.P.46M.

POTTER & CLARKE LTD., ARTILLERY LANE, E.1

She *looks* fine

SHE TAKES

She *feels* fine

Lixen

THE GOOD-NATURED LAXATIVE

In bottles - 2/3, 3/11

LIXEN LOZENGES

for the children, Fruit flavoured in bottles 1/11½

From Chemists only

It's an Allenburys Product

Made in England by Allen & Hanburys Ltd.

L600

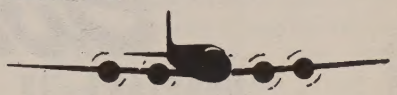
Luxury Flying

to INDIA and the Far East by

AIR FRANCE SKYMASTERS

Seats are available for India and Hong Kong. Other regular services to U.S.A., Middle East, Africa, Egypt and South America. Enjoy the fruits of 25 years' air travel experience. Ask your Travel Agent for details.

AIR FRANCE, 52 Haymarket, London, S.W.1
Telephone: Whitehall 0971
Manchester, Glasgow.



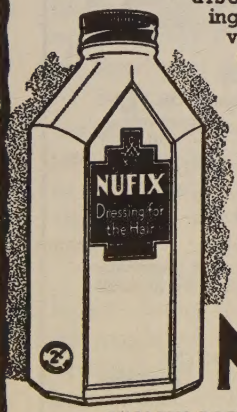
Men prefer

NUFIX—a quality product at a popular price.

Its base contains vegetable oil—a safeguard against scalp dryness — also other beneficial ingredients of proved value adding lustre to the hair.

Nufix does not contain Gum, Starch or Soap. A single application keeps the hair tidy all day without hardness or deposit.

Unexcelled for Hair Health and well groomed appearance.



NUFIX REGD.

QUALITY DRESSING FOR THE HAIR

Walden & Co. (Nufix) Ltd., London, N.W.9

SUPPLIES ARE LIMITED

BALKAN SOBRANIE CIGARETTES & TOBACCOS

THIS ENGLAND... No. 8

ENGLISH cooking is frequently decried, yet 'Roast Beef' abroad is a travesty of our original, 'Beer' overseas a caricature of our English brew, and 'Tea' a libel on the kind English mothers make... And after our English meals we prefer an English smoke, and in *Balkan Sobranie* convert the pick of what is grown abroad into a product of our own which others can only envy.

SOBRANIE LTD. LONDON. E.C.I.

Fully Qualified

Over 1,000 mechanics attend the Ford Facilities School every year to take practical courses in repairs and maintenance. They come from Ford Dealers all over Britain. They go back—if they pass a stiff examination—with a diploma; fully qualified to serve you. These Dagenham-trained mechanics are just one feature of the Ford Facilities for unequalled maintenance — a service that includes spare parts and repairs at fixed and very reasonable prices — prices which are in print for every Ford owner to check, if he wishes, before work is put in hand.

PREFECT 10 h.p. ANGLIA 8 h.p.

Ford

CONSTANT IN PERFORMANCE

BY APPOINTMENT MOTOR VEHICLE MANUFACTURERS

FORD MOTOR COMPANY LIMITED, DAGENHAM

KOUSSEVITZKY
and the
BOSTON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 in G Major—*Bach* - - - DB 6457-8

RINA GIGLI
and the Royal Opera House Orchestra
Mercè, dilette Amiche—from "I Vespri Siciliani"—*Verdi*; Non mi Resta—from "L'Amico Fritz" — *Mascagni*
DB 6459

RUBINSTEIN
Nocturne in A Flat Major, Op. 33—*Fauré*; Mouvements Perpetuels—*Poulenc* - - - - DB 6467

SCHNABEL & FOURNIER
Sonata in A Major, Op. 69—*Beethoven*
DB 6464-6

MICHELANGELI
Sonata in C Minor; Pastorale (Sonatina in D Minor. L 413)—both by *Scarlatti*
DA 5380

BARBIROLLI
and the HALLÉ ORCHESTRA
Symphonie Fantastique, Op. 14—*Berlioz*
C 3563-9

GREATEST ARTISTS · **FINEST RECORDING**

THE GRAMOPHONE COMPANY LIMITED, HAYES, MIDDLESEX

The Way of the World

BRITAIN'S CRISIS—AMERICAN REACTIONS—UNO

SIR R. H. BRUCE LOCKHART, K.C.M.G.

WITH the approach of winter the rigours of our own domestic crisis are likely to be felt with increasing severity by all sections of the British people. To the average man and woman its financial aspect may still seem bewildering. But the main problem is crystal clear. We can no longer live on borrowed money. We must earn what we spend. To create a healthy national economy we must produce more, and increased production can be achieved only by the wisest use of our best brains and of our inventive power, never greater than it was during the recent war, by hard work, by an inevitable reduction in the standard of living, and by a puritan austerity. The crisis is a long-term one, likely to outlast the period of two years optimistically forecast by Mr. Bevin in his Southport speech at the beginning of September. The reward will be national recovery. Failure will mean permanent decline, enforced emigration or starvation, and the reduction of Britain to a small and insignificant nation.

The life of a nation is like the life of a human being. It has its birth, its youth, its manhood, its middle-age and its eventual decline and death. I do not believe that we have nearly reached the topmost rungs of our age-ladder as a nation. Although there are some Socialist intellectuals who would prefer a socialised Britain of ten million inhabitants to national recovery achieved by other means, it is highly improbable that their views are shared by more than a tiny minority of the British people or, indeed, of their own Party. But, if such fanaticism is restricted, a facile optimism is widespread. No one but a madman can underrate the seriousness of our economic straits or pretend that there is any easy way out. No decent man or woman will refuse to support any measure designed to accelerate the process of national recovery. The chief weakness of the Socialist Government has been not only its failure to plan wisely and in time, but also its lack of courage to enforce on its own supporters such tardy measures of recovery as it has improvised. At Southport even Mr. Bevin, who is not deficient in fearlessness, must have left the rank and file of trade unionists with the feeling that their standard of less work and higher wages will not be affected. We have not yet reached the bottom of our troubles. We are still going down. Realisation of that process is both the best guarantee that we shall go up again and the only optimism which is justifiable today.

Between the Millstones

ALTHOUGH we can be saved only by our own exertions, the date of our deliverance depends largely on the state of the rest of the world. As we are not self-sufficient, increased production will not help us if no one is able or willing to buy our exports. World recovery will therefore accelerate national recovery; world chaos will retard it.

The main lines of Mr. Bevin's foreign policy are almost certainly approved by a large majority of his countrymen. In trying to steer a middle course between the materialism of the United States and the totalitarianism of Russia, he is following a *British* policy. His advocacy of a Customs Union for the Commonwealth and for the Colonial Empire will also commend itself to many people and may well be the road which in the long run will lead us to renewed prosperity. In its immediate effect it was a useful protest against the economic policy of the United States which, by seeking to establish multilateral trade, has been hostile to our Imperial preferences. But many difficulties will have to be overcome, particularly with the sister nations of the Commonwealth, before anything like an effective Customs Union can be established, and it is significant that, in throwing the suggestion off his chest as if it were the consequence of a sudden inspiration, Mr. Bevin was careful not to rule out the possibility of a European Customs Union or, apart from his unhappy reference to the Fort Knox gold, to turn his back on the Marshall Plan.

Nor in a world dominated by two antagonistic extremes is it easy for a British Foreign Secretary to keep his wheel on a middle and wholly independent course. We owe the United States vast sums of money; we are dependent on her for further aid. Experience has shown that it is almost impossible for us to be friends with both Russia and the United States at the same time. The strongest political sentiment in the United States today is hatred of Communism. The most potent fear in the Soviet Union after the war was, and probably still is today, fear of the atom bomb. Because of our special relations with the United States, our trade negotiations with Russia broke down. Because we refused to guarantee our neutrality in the event of any possible conflict between Russia and the United States—for this is what Russia wanted in intent if not in actual words—the revision of the Anglo-Russian Treaty has made no progress for many months.

U.S. v. U.S.S.R.

THE plain truth is that the world today is dominated by the conflict between the United States and Russia. There is almost no part of the globe which it does not touch, almost no nation whose political and economic life is not affected by it, and we ourselves, less than some nations perhaps but more than others, are between the nether and upper millstones represented by these two nations who are in a sense the *nouveaux riches* of the Great Powers and who, unfortunately, are still raw in their experience of world affairs.

The most obvious political truism today is that the peace and, indeed, the recovery of the world are dependent on a Russo-American understanding. Unfortunately, this understanding seems farther off than ever.

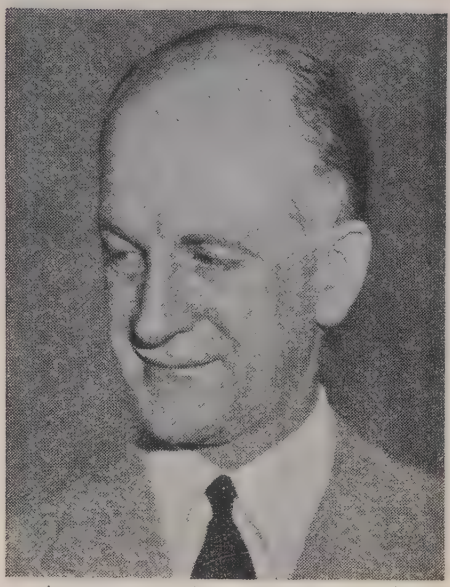
Meanwhile, the nations of Europe, forced by power politics to make a difficult and unwilling choice, align themselves on one side or the other. In the East the shape of what is coming is already clear and almost complete. The West, fearful of widening the gap

which already exists, and eager to bridge it at the first opportunity, is still in the preliminary stages of self-organisation. In this scramble for strategic positions and political influence the Russians have the initial advantage, for totalitarian methods and the ruthlessness of the régime enable them to mask all their intentions and to reveal them only after action has been taken. American democracy demands that the administration announce its intentions first and then wait three or four months while Congress decides whether or not to give its approval. During this period the administration has to have recourse to such temporary expedients as begging us to retain our troops in Greece or in Palestine or, indeed, in any place where the time-lag of Congressional dilatoriness requires. The initiative, therefore, is always with the Russians who have a further encouragement to boldness in their conviction that in no conceivable circumstances will the workers of Britain ever tolerate a war against the Soviet Union.

The November meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers will show whether an already sub-divided Europe can co-operate to create a united Germany or whether a divided Germany will have a foot in each of two hostile European camps. As Mr. Bevin has said, the Conference is the last chance, if indeed it is not already lost in advance.

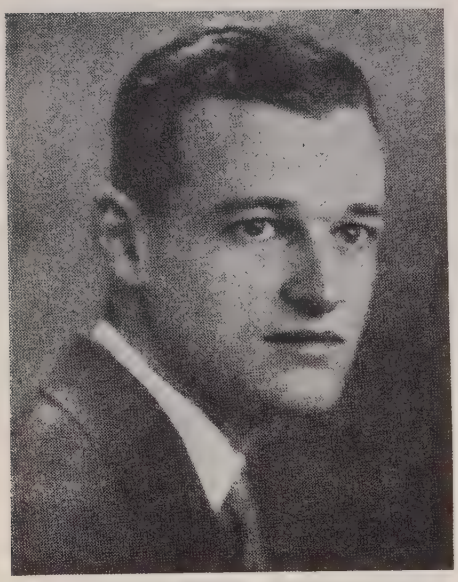
What America Thinks

IT is, I think, most unfortunate that, at a time like this, shortage of newsprint and the difficulties of publishers should deprive us of an adequate flow of news and comment from the other side of the Atlantic, for the United States is rapidly repairing the deficiencies of her knowledge of Russia, and in this respect is



SUMNER WELLES, *former Under-Secretary of State, now a prolific writer on foreign affairs, advocates help to Europe and patient firmness towards Russia*

probably far ahead of us. Be this as it may, two facts should be realised: (1) in foreign affairs Russia, and not Britain, is now the main American interest, and (2) the Americans possess a vast documentation on every aspect of Russian life which is not available to the average British citizen. Discussion of Russia's motives is open and unfettered, and is conducted in the press by such experts as Mr. Sumner Welles. I might add that it is almost unlimited in content. Moreover, for the past two months Americans have been discussing with keen interest an article which, under the title 'The Sources of Soviet Conduct', appeared in the July number of the American journal, *Foreign Affairs*. The article was signed 'X', and it derives its importance from the fact that 'X' conceals the identity of Mr. George F. Kennan, the chief planner of the State Department and the leading American expert on the Soviet Union. Like many Americans Mr. Kennan has no illusions



GEORGE F. KENNAN, *Chief Planner of the State Department, and anonymous author of* The Sources of Soviet Conduct, *has little hope of Russo-American collaboration —but thinks Russia is weak*

about the real nature of Soviet intentions and little hope of Russo-American collaboration in the reconstruction of our unhappy world. On the other hand, he sees great weaknesses in the structure of Soviety society and thinks that it already bears within it the seeds of its own decay. For that reason he is inclined to believe that the future of Soviet power may not be as secure as the Russian capacity for self-delusion would make it appear to the men in the Kremlin. For the United States he advocates a policy of patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.

This article, which received wide publicity from being republished in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, has already been severely criticised by Mr. Walter Lippmann, who sees grave objections to a policy based on the assumption that Soviet power is inherently weak and impermanent. Many will share his view that a sound policy must take into consideration, not the best and easiest that may be possible, but the worst and hardest that may be judged to be probable.

United Nations

Mr. Sumner Welles, who today is a prolific publicist, has also written much on the Russian question. He foresees at the best a period during which there can be no real advance towards world reconstruction or strengthening the United Nations. Americans call it 'the cold war period' during which the Russians will try to gain 'victory by erosion' or 'victory through tedium'. To meet this unpleasant situation Mr. Welles recommends that the United States (1) should patiently and persistently keep the door open for Russian co-operation through the United Nations; (2) should take no step that might jeopardise her future safety by enabling the Soviet Union later on to secure Germany and Japan as her allies; and (3) should render the necessary aid to tide the European democracies over their present difficulties and should steadfastly avoid those penny-wise, pound-foolish measures that must inevitably destroy American influence in the rest of the world.

I have no doubt that most Americans support this policy, and I do not include among them the American war-mongers whose numbers are almost certainly very much smaller than one might assume from the publicity which they have received. It is a policy which its advocates support precisely because they hope and believe that it will avert war. Unfortunately, the divisions which split the world today are not merely geographical; they also divide individual peoples. And in the United States, as in this country, there are sections of the

population who are far from putting the whole blame for the peace which is no peace on Russia. There is Mr. Henry Wallace. There are his followers. And it was a distinguished American professor who wrote recently: 'Russia believes that the American Government is trying to destroy her way of life. But the United States believes that her only dangerous rival, Russia, is trying to destroy her way of life. The tragedy is that both views are correct.'

This statement is remarkable because it illustrates one fundamental difference between the United States and Russia. It has been given full publicity in America. It could never have been made in Russia. It is also, I feel, true in the sense that fellow-travellers will acclaim the Russian thesis; supporters of the United States will underwrite the American thesis, and men and women all over the world who long to see the triumph of reason over madness will accept the comparative truth of both theses. But the statement will give little help to Mr. Bevin. Only a British recovery can do this.

The Dangers of Reforming UNO

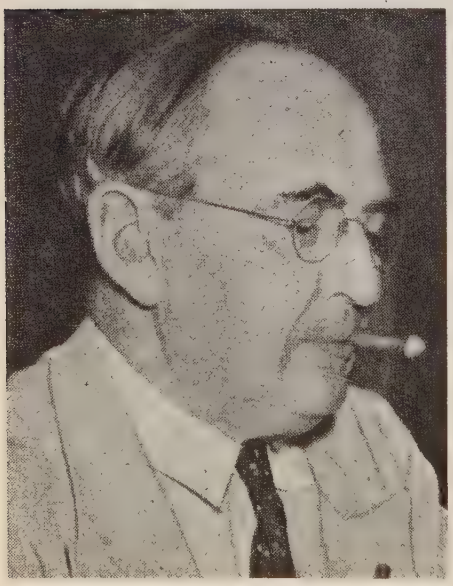
ONE of the inevitable consequences of the Russo-American conflict is the failure of the United Nations Organisation whose efforts to make its influence effective have been nullified on every important occasion by a ruthless use of the veto. Constant frustration has irritated the supporters of the United Nations both inside and outside the organisation. In his speech at Southport to the Trades Union Congress, Mr. Bevin stated bluntly that the veto had been used stupidly and denounced the Security Council as a platform for propaganda. His words were merely a mild reflection of what many critics have been thinking for a long time. Well-intentioned reformers of the organisation are now busy everywhere, especially in the United States where, because hopes had been pitched highest, disillusionment has been most rapid.

American reformers can be divided into three categories: (1) those who seek to give more power to UNO and to render it 'capable of enacting, interpreting and enforcing world law'; (2) those who wish to abolish the veto, and, if Russia shows herself recalcitrant, to carry on the organisation without her; and (3) those who favour total abolition. At the present moment by far the largest reform group favours some form of restriction of the veto, and several resolutions to this effect were introduced during the last session of Congress.

I do not doubt the good intentions of these reformers, but in foreign affairs more harm comes from the uninformed men of good will than from almost any other source. In my opinion the reformers are treading dangerous paths. In the existing state of the world there is no practical possibility of giving UNO power to enforce world-laws for the simple reason that the available forces are at present divided. To drive Russia out of UNO, even if this were technically possible, would involve the inevitable withdrawal of her satellites, and perhaps of other European countries, and would leave the rump of UNO as an appendage of American policy. Nor does abolition or restriction of the veto commend itself to all Americans. It is true that Russia has used the veto in her national interests far more often than any other nation. But, as Mr. William Shirer, of Berlin Diary fame, has frequently pointed out, the day may come when the United States may find it a most useful instrument for the

defence of her own national interests. In this connection it is significant that Senator Vandenberg, whose knowledge of foreign affairs and whose support of President Truman's policies have been of great value to the American Government, has always been a firm advocate of the veto because he sees in it a safeguard against American subordination 'to alien commands'. In his speech in the Senate more than two years ago in support of ratification of the United Nations Charter he said: 'Let it never for an instant be forgotten that this veto, granted to the five Great Powers, includes a veto for our own United States. It is our protection against our involvement in any use of our forces against our will.' I have no reason to believe that he has changed, or is likely to change, his mind. His argument is one that will always appeal to millions of his countrymen.

The initial failures of UNO have been a disappointment to all its supporters. But it is still only an infant in swaddling clothes. If it is to act as a deterrent to war—and I think that it can so act—it must be fostered with care and patience and not exposed to the very real dangers of being overlaid by the attentions of too many nurses.



SENATOR ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, *leading Republican and Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He advocates retention of some form of veto in Security Council in American interests*

American Fairness

I THINK it right that we British should realise how sympathetic has been the attitude of the United States towards our troubles since 15 August. Criticism there has been in plenty, but it has come mainly from American business men who, disliking Socialism, have not hesitated to point out its mistakes or to show how American management, American efficiency, and American free enterprise can put our house in order.

This apart, however, the attitude of the American people and, especially, of the high American officials has been both helpful and considerate. The fairest account of the dollar crisis that I have read appeared in the *New York Herald-Tribune*. It gave us full credit for raising our exports. It made excuses even for the stagnation of our coal output. Its criticism of the loan was directed almost entirely against the lenders, and not the borrowers. Many other examples of this generous consideration could be culled from recent files of the American Press.

The same cannot be said of Russia where, ever since Mr. Marshall made his famous Harvard speech, the propaganda drums have been beating with increasing vehemence to the greater glory of the Soviet man who is now being told that he has nothing to learn from the West in science, art, literature, music, the drama, and many other kinds of learning and culture, including even sport! In fact, the Soviet man is being

fed daily on the fame of his forbears who, he is assured, were the inventors of electric light, the telegraph and the radio. In the same menu Western foreigners, like Edison, Morse and Marconi, are accused of having stolen and exploited these Russian discoveries. Patriotism, too, which is now a sin in the eyes of our own Socialists, is being exalted with all the vigour which Russian propaganda can command, and cultivation of this outmoded virtue among all strata of society is declared to be 'the main educational task of the Communist Party and the Soviet State'.

In this orgy of self-glorification there is little room for sympathy with the troubles of a former ally, and, when the Russians are not rounding up the British Government for their mistakes, they are advising us smugly to accept our position as a third-rate power and to cut all our foreign commitments.

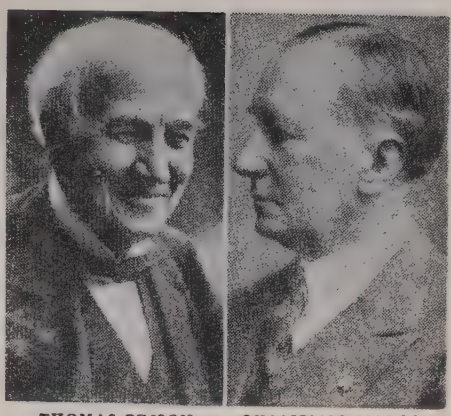
It all sounds ominously like Hitler's Germany with Stalin claiming Shakespeare as a Georgian and Mr. Bevin in the place of Dr. Beneš as the puny representative of an unknown race of pygmies.

Paths to Peace?

TRUE it is that on the eve of the 800th anniversary of the foundation of Moscow, Stalin sent one of his rare messages to his people. In it he declared that the peace-loving peoples of the world were looking to Moscow with hope as the capital of a great peace-loving power.

It would be pleasant to believe in Stalin's pacifist intentions, but all his paths to peace seem to be one-way traffic, and there is no gentleness in any of his ways.

But, as far as anything can be certain, war is the last thing that Stalin wants.



THOMAS EDISON GUGLIELMO MARCONI

They exploited Russian discoveries!

If this conjecture is true, it might have been better and certainly easier if in 1945 we had taken as a basis for a settlement with Russia a delimitation of spheres of interest. World Empires require room to move in and advanced security frontiers. An agreed line, with a proviso that there must be no indiscriminate meddling by either party in the sphere of the other, might possibly have satisfied Stalin.

Such a policy was recommended by Professor Namier long before the end of the war. It was rejected for the very good reason that public opinion, both in the United States and in this country, would never have stood at that time for so cynical a bargain. It would have meant the negation of the United Nations and of everything that many people fought and died for. But Russian realism has made a big hole in the defences of international idealism, and the possibility is not to be excluded that in the end a British Government may be forced to accept spheres of influence in preference to a worse alternative. And in this event the democracies will have lost both prestige and influence by the delay.

The Escorial, built in 1584 and situated outside Madrid. The late Alfonso was the first Spanish king to live there. Will the Hapsburg dynasty ever return there?

SPAIN'S DILEMMA

The Franco régime brings international isolation and internal misery to Spain. Its removal is impeded by dictatorial decrees, the disunity of the opposition and fear of civil war

SHEVAWN LYNAM

***Foreign correspondent of the* Irish Times *and the* Observer**

WHILE the nations prepare for the Marshall Ball, Spain, as usual, sits at home raking out the cinders, and there is an increasing tendency to believe that she is happy enough in her own quiet way.

The impression I got was that Spaniards were not happy at all. They feel they are living in a stagnant lily-pond, and that nobody dares stir the surface lest they get a bad smell. The object of their discontent is Franco, but there the unity ends because the causes and proposed remedies are widely divergent. While Axis archives disgorge a steady flow of incriminating evidence, to prove to any still in doubt with what brush the régime was tarred, many of the Nationalists who installed it have been withdrawing approval.

On the whole, the army and the Catholic hierarchy remain faithful. The Falangists continue support whilst prepared to jilt Franco should he court democracy seriously, and he is the apple of the black-marketeers' eye. They are recruited from all sections, but the 'kings' generally sit in the army and administration.

Catholic Action is the régime's backbone, but the moderate Catholics, including many of the lower clergy and former supporters, are antagonistic. They are headed by a Right-Wing Republican minister, Jimenez Fernandez, who is, however, now viewed more favourably by Left than Right. With his tiny *béret* on his big head, this tall, loose-limbed, voluble Professor of Canon Law talks with the unabated enthusiasm of a child.

The renegades from Franco's cause are among the big industrialists—Juan March and Ventosa, the bankers, the Liberal generals, who could probably command appreciable support in the army, sections in

the universities, and a good portion of the Conservatives who originally set him up as a stepping-stone to monarchy. Some have reacted against the oppression, but the majority just feel that Franco has had it, and see no future in being identified further with him. They have now joined the followers of Don Juan, installed in Estoril. I found him even more charming, handsome and simple than I had been told, but his popular appeal is limited because nobody knows what kind of king he would be.

It is estimated that about two million of those who defended the Republican Government are in 'supervised liberty', and two and a half million families are affected by the Law of Political Responsibilities which leaves them with few rights in their own land. Some want the exiled Republican Government back *en bloc*, but I should say that the majority regard it as a symbol. They would greet its recognition as their most decisive victory over Franco, but would want it replaced by a government formed from the 'Underground' at home.

The middle and lower classes account for the bulk of the neutral masses. They fought on both sides in the Civil War, and their main preoccupation is keeping body and soul together with soaring prices and meagre rations. Instead of basic rations, they receive fluctuating weekly supplies, and, taking November, December and January as sample winter months, I found that during that whole period last year, Barcelona's inhabitants received 20 lbs. 4 ozs. of food as compared with the 117 lbs. 9 ozs., i.e. 1 cwt. 5 lbs. 9 ozs., of the German in the British zone.

The black market is indistinguishable from the free market, and together they fill the shops with everything from ham at 19s. a pound to meat at 8s. 4d., butter at 16s. 8d. to Spanish sausage at 9s. 9d., and so on. A skilled workman earns about 9s. a day. The average unskilled labourer, earning 4s. 6d. to 6s. 9d., cannot allow his wife more than 1s. a day per head for food, and, with such prices, it becomes a luxury rather than a necessity.

The olive-oil famine is the hardest, and the administration attributes it to drought. For three years it has halved the normal 350,000-ton harvest. This year, however, produced 400,000, and if that does not give Spaniards enough oil to drown in, they will say that the land is being bled white by exports to build up foreign currency for the régime's friends.

The Economic Burden

Converted into statistics, this is the picture: currency circulation, which in 1936 was 4,836 million pesetas, is now 27,000 millions. The Public Debt, which in 1936 was 24,000 millions, is 47,000 millions. The budget, which at the end of the Civil War was 5,960 millions, provided this year for expenditure of 14,000 millions which will probably reach 18,000 millions when all supplementary expenses are included. The armed forces, police, civil guard and Falangist Party absorb sixty per cent, while agriculture is allocated less than one per cent.

For all but the rich and the small profiteering class, therefore, the economic situation is crushing. Assuming that a

Ex-War Minister INDALECIO PRIETO. *Now in France after exile in Mexico. A moderate Socialist and now head of the anti-Franco 'National Solidarity' movement*

JIMENEZ FERNANDEZ, *Republican Minister of Agriculture in 1935, is leader of the moderate Catholics antagonistic to Franco*

people votes on its stomach, all but these classes would be in the opposition, and most people told me they saw political change primarily as relief from this struggle.

This, roughly, is opinion at home. Abroad, fifty-three out of fifty-five nations agreed to send Franco to a sort of diplomatic Coventry, and Britain and the U.S.A. expressed the hope that he would 'relinquish power.' Spaniards, however, reviewing his activities for the past nine months, wonder how this latter can be considered likely. He started with demonstrations. In big cities like Madrid and Barcelona, any one can rally that indeterminate quantity, a crowd—100,000 willing or coerced enthusiasts who cheer while the remaining 900,000 stay at home. Nevertheless, this sort of spontaneous representation of Franco's has not been without effect. He has stimulated afresh the fear of renewed violence that keeps Spaniards in petrified inaction. He has nipped neatly in the bud all plans for replacing him quietly and painlessly by Don Juan, and formulated a law whereby his successor shall be chosen —when he dies.

He has devised new ways of controlling his adversaries. The law of 1943, which made all who conspired by 'any means' or took part in meetings guilty of military rebellion, looks insipid compared with the decree of 18 April, 1947. This made certain acts of resistance automatically punishable by death. According to the 'Underground' there followed an order that *saboteurs* and 'terrorists' were to be shot at sight to avoid trial, because there had been some diplomatic snooping. In the trials I attended, twenty minutes was the time taken to condemn a man to death.

Franco Digs In

The elegant, athletic Director-General of Prisons, Aylagas, is again getting short of space. He stated in July that the prison population was 40,500 compared with 36,747 in February. However, the 'Underground' affirm that the Top Secret file in which he keeps the real figure gives it as 114,970, of whom eighty per cent are political.

Those who voted in the Referendum will henceforward have a special stamp on their ration cards or 'safe-conducts', and in order to hold the latter at all, they must be guaranteed supporters of the 'Glorious National Rising'. Perhaps the worst blow, however, is that the hey-day of forged documents which I experienced is over, for new identity cards are to be issued with the holder's fingerprints.

Without a foreign loan the régime could only just shuffle along, but now an order of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce of 26 June requires all share certificates of the C.H.A.D.E. or Hispano-American Electricity Company to be deposited in the Spanish Institute of Foreign Exchange, or the Société de Banque Suisse in Zürich. It is assumed they will form security for a loan, though nobody knows yet who will be the sugar-daddy.

From all these things, Spaniards conclude that Franco is just digging himself in. I was attacked by all opposition sections for the assistance he is being given, they

consider, by Britain and her empire who are his best customers.

Spaniards have such an untidy tendency to split into groups that the organised political opposition looks rather like a jig-saw puzzle. Here there is only room to examine one of its complexities, and the most important is, undoubtedly, the possibility of a coalition being formed.

At home, the Alliance of Democratic Forces, in which all Left-Wing Parties are represented, has been negotiating with moderate monarchists for the formation of a government to meet with British and American approval. The moderate Socialists and the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalists) have led the way, making a plebiscite the condition for closing the deal. The Communists and large sections of the other parties demand that the institutional issue be decided by elections, a majority of Left-Wing votes giving a Republic, and of Right, a Monarchy.

DON JOSÉ GIL ROBLES, *President of 'Acción Popular'. As chief adviser to* DON JUAN, *he is opposed to a plebiscite on the monarchy*

Opposition to Franco

Abroad, a new exiled Government was launched in February under the moderate Socialist, Llopis. He and the Alliance aimed at an exchange of olive branches between Monarchists and Republicans before Spain's gangrenous body reappeared on UNO's dissecting table. They failed.

In the first place this was due to Don Juan's chief adviser, Gil Robles. He is plump, pallid, politically subtle and brilliant, disinclined to look one in the eyes and as easy to pin down as an eel. He believes in the Divine Right of Kings, and will have no plebiscite. Furthermore, he is unwilling to grant autonomy to the Catalans and Basques (the latter have put up a united front and a remarkable fight), and without it there will be serious trouble in these regions as soon as liberty returns.

It is conceivable that something could have been done to diminish these differences between people not only separated by their ideologies, but by the blood shed in a Civil War. In pre-liberation Europe, Allied influence frequently had a neutralising effect by making it necessary for everybody to curry favour with them in order to get anywhere. This produced the momentary co-operation necessary for action; but the Spaniards have all along been knocking on closed doors.

Llopis himself came to London in April to enlist at least advice, if not aid. He is the personification of quietness, civilisation and sweet reasonableness. In one's wildest flights of fancy one could not imagine him carrying dynamite in his breast pocket, or burning churches as a hobby, as Franco's appeasers suggest all Left-Wing politicians do. Yet, he got the same cold reception as all his colleagues.

Then, in July, in the midst of this deadlock, ex-War Minister, Indalecio Prieto, suddenly arrived in France from Mexico. A moderate Socialist, he is a Basque who has never favoured autonomy, but appears to be reconsidering his attitude now. He is a lion-hearted man, and he came to rig up any sort of an old dress that would get Spain into the Ball at the eleventh hour.

He evidently realised that, when Spaniards were asked to produce a coalition government, they were asked to do the

DON JUAN, *pretender to the Spanish throne, at work in his villa at Estoril*

impossible. Constitutionally, they can only produce a coalition *or* a government. A government must be responsible to the Republican President, whom the majority of nations refuse to recognise, or to a King whose legal right, pending a plebiscite, is non-existent. The powers who have called for this government have shown no signs of recognising either institution, so Prieto urged the Republic to dissolve itself and permit the formation of a nation-wide coalition movement. Nobody could dispute the legality of an organisation which itself could claim none.

The suggestion brought forth cries of 'Traitor!' At the same time, from inside Spain, the original founders of the Alliance (Socialists, U.G.T. or General Workers' Union, C.N.T. and Republican Party) disclosed a secret clause in their constitution saying they considered Spain had been in a 'constituent condition' since the outbreak of the Civil War. Left-Wing Parties immediately repudiated both Prieto and the Alliance, and rallied around a new and uncompromisingly republican government, while another piece has been added to the jig-saw puzzle by Prieto's 'National Solidarity' movement. It is supported principally by the founder members of the Alliance, but the exclusion of the Communists banishes hope that it will be a real coalition of all anti-Franco forces, and gives the Communist Party an invaluable weapon to use in elections.

How do ordinary Spaniards feel about this all-important, all-disturbing issue of Republic versus Monarchy? I got the feeling that the single-mindedness of the exiled Republicans is not entirely shared by their sympathisers at home. For eight years they have been living in what is remarkably like occupied territory. Nothing that delays their liberation is likely to be widely acceptable, and the majority seem to want the issue settled afterwards. I asked one man which he would choose, and he said, 'Give me freedom and a piece of ballot paper, and then I'll tell you'. The means have not yet been found, but all agree that this piece of paper must come first. Only the monarchists differ. A prominent supporter of the Pretender said, 'Why should we allow the Republicans to have a plebiscite when we have the force to effect change—the army? After all, the Left must remember they lost the Civil War!'

Most Spaniards still look to some decisive action on the part of the great powers to make their liberation possible, and then they want a great gust of fresh air let in before they can even begin to consider rival claims. There is no doubt that one of the obstacles to a solution is the impossibility of gauging the opinion of people who have become unaccustomed to expressing any. Only when I left Spain did I realise how subjective people there have become, how utterly shut away from the main stream of life. Within a few months the same paralysis had started to creep over me, myself. At Cerbère, the French frontier town where one waits for one's connection, the galaxy of newspapers is almost blinding to travellers from Spain. People buy the whole range

As I paid for my bundle, the woman was staring in stupefaction after one of my Spanish companions. 'What's wrong?' I asked. 'Nothing,' she replied, 'except that he was asking for a paper that hasn't been printed for five years. They must live in the moon down there in Spain!' To this the long-suffering Spaniards would no doubt want to answer, 'Some moon!'

Report from Prague

Is Czechoslovakia behind the 'Iron Curtain' or astride it? This review of Czech thought, politics and industry by a correspondent on the spot answers this and other questions

FRANCIS LINT

A TRAVELLER arriving from the West will encounter in Prague a lot of things which will shake his idea about the existence of an Iron Curtain. The fact that a newspaper shop in the main square, run by the Communist Party, sells under the emblem of the Red Star magazines like *Life*, *Time*, *Time and Tide*, *Newsweek* and other American and English Right-Wing periodicals, might better be able to shake preconceived ideas about Russian domination of Czechoslovak life than any propaganda talk. The fact that he meets more American soldiers in one day than Russians in a month might give him the idea that Czechoslovakia is considerably under American influence. He will find that most of the foreign newspaper feature material comes from the West; that about half of Prague's sixty-seven cinemas show English or American films and less than a third Russian films, and he will get the picture of a predominantly Western influence.

To conclude that the influence of the Communist Party is weak would, however, be wrong.

The Communist Party in Czechoslovakia is strong enough to tolerate all that without running the risk of having public opinion swing West. They hold all the key Ministries: Interior with the police, Information with radio, which is state-owned, the film, which was nationalised, and paper allocation which to a certain extent regulates the press. They hold the Ministry of Social Welfare with its grip on the working classes and the Ministry of Agriculture with its grip on the smallholders. Last, but not least, the Prime Minister is a Communist.

The majority of people in Czechoslovakia, whatever their politics, will never recover from the shock of Munich: a shock prolongated by the German occupation and hardened by the recent endeavours of the Western powers to help the recovery of German economy, which for every Czech means also a political strengthening. This shock, together with the fact that Czechoslovakia lies on the Eastern side of a Germany which for ever remains the potential enemy, makes Russia their natural and only ally. However big Western influence might become, Russia and the other Slavonic nations are for every Czech his only guarantee against German aggression. As long as the West does not realise the psychological importance of these facts, it will not be able to see Czechoslovakia in true perspective. The economic issue, stirred deeply by the Marshall Plan, and the Czech Government's double move within three days after the invitation to participate was received, is just another side of the picture. Seen from the Czechoslovak angle, however big the immediate advantage would have been, it could not drive a separate economic bargain with the West and at the same time expect that Russia and its Eastern Allies would be willing to prevent another Munich, should such an event once arise. The moment Czechoslovakia saw that it was alone it had to withdraw or to give up the security against Germany which Russian help holds for it.

During the war the eyes and ears of the

GOTTWALD, *the Communist Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia*

people were turned towards the West. But liberation came actually from the East, and the days of liberation linger deepest in the memories of a population which suffered as badly under German occupation as did the Czechs. The fact that the Americans got near Prague in their advance and then stopped; that during the fateful five days of the fight of the city of Prague against the Germans not one American or British plane appeared (although bombardments previous to these days were frequent) is still a topic of controversy. It does not matter if there was really an understanding between the Allied High Commands, and Prague had to be liberated by the Russians. The fact remains that it was the Russians who helped to liberate the city, and this has brought them much nearer to the soul of the people than any propaganda. On the whole the Russians gained the sympathies of the population during their stay. The shortness of their stay was another point in their favour; a third that neither they nor the Czechoslovak Communist Party tried to grab power during the time the Red Army was in control. This proved to many that Russia has no aspirations towards Czechoslovakia, and that the Czech Communists are Czechs first, then Communists.

There has, till now, been no evident interference with Czechoslovakia's external and internal affairs. Not even in the cultural field has there been a considerable influx of propaganda from the East. Russia has not even granted permission for Czech journalists to visit the Soviet Union, a fact stressed by Mr. Kopecky, the Communist Minister of Information, at a Press Conference held at the Soviet Embassy this summer.

Expulsion of Germans

The Marshall Plan so far is the only event which gave public opinion here a jolt as to the independence of the country. In the beginning even the Communist press had seen no harm in attending the conference, to reserve judgment until more was known. There is no doubt that the first decision, i.e. to take part, was unanimous. Its reversion was accepted with deep disappointment; but the people have been calmed down by the official explanation: 'We can't risk being isolated from the other Slavonic states which form our natural allies against Germany because they share our fear and hatred of it.'

When Czechoslovakia had been cleared of German troops, there still remained part of the enemy within the borders of the state. Only someone who saw how the German citizen of pre-war Czechoslovakia changed face overnight at the time of the occupation can understand that there was only one possible solution—to expel the German population. For the West this might seem to have been a purely political and economic problem. For the Czechs it was something which had to be done even if the country's economic situation were gravely endangered.

Everybody knew that the expulsion of three million Germans meant a serious shortage of manpower. There were some Czechs who thought the expulsion should have been slowed up; some that a system

of selection should have been applied with regard to specialists, but not one Czech advocated keeping the Germans. Only if you have listened to tales of barbarism of these Sudeten Germans will you be able fully to appreciate this attitude. They showed that they were the masters, and the Czechs nothing more than slaves. Now take the propaganda which the Western powers allow Mr. Jaksch, former leader of the Sudeten German Social Democrats, to spread among the expelled Sudeten Germans in Germany, his open promises of a 'return', and you will better understand Czechoslovakia's attitude towards the East.

Driving out these Germans, turning these regions into Czech districts and repopulating them was a hard task. In the beginning people flocked in their thousands into the border regions. When it became known, however, that nobody could be certain of owning the farm, the house, the shop, he had taken over, when it became clear that the Government considered them only as some sort of 'national caretakers', the situation became difficult. A lot of adventurers just sucked dry what they had taken over, and left before they were found out. Others, qualified and honest citizens who really wanted to make a new start, became disgusted when the Government put off the decision to hand the properties over to private ownership. This state of affairs led for a short time to re-emigration into the interior, but the Government has realised its error and all properties are shortly to be handed over to their present holders.

Nationalisation of Industry

A lot has been written about Czechoslovakia's nationalisation of industries. There were many inside the country who did not approve and considered it the first step towards complete socialisation. It seems, however, that the process of nationalisation in its present form was a necessity just as the expulsion of the Germans was a necessity, and that any Government would, sooner or later, have had to do the same.

After the German occupation the finances of the country were in such a bad state that, to prevent inflation and collapse, all banking accounts had to be frozen, and new banknotes issued. The same could not be done with industrial properties. Those which had been in German hands—and the Germans had taken over all property of which only five per cent of shares had been in Jewish hands—had to be operated by the state. Going so far, it was natural and necessary to nationalise all property belonging to certain groups of industries, even if still in Czech hands. Also much of the industrial property of Czechs had been confiscated by the Germans. The case of the Barrandov film studios is typical. Their owner had been a Czech, Mr. Havel. A German offered to buy the business for £22,000. The real value was around half a million pounds. He refused and was promptly arrested by the Gestapo. Set free next day, he was offered £15,000. Mr. Havel again refused, was re-arrested by the Gestapo and forced to hand over the property for some £5,000. The Ufa took over the studios, transferred there the most up-to-date equipment from Germany, and transformed them into one of the biggest studios in Europe. The Czech Government nationalised the studios, gave Mr. Havel a job, paying him the equivalent of his pre-war holdings. There were thousands of similar cases throughout the country. Out of all this muddle there was only one way: to nationalise. Apart from this there was, of course, the socialisation of the country which had been demanded by the Communists and Social Democrats, to break up big capitalist holding. The process of nationalisation, according to a recent declaration by the Government, has now been ended.

Some of the enterprises the Germans erected or enlarged are a definite profit for the country, the Barrandov film studios, for example, and the Stalin Works in North Western Bohemia. Allied bombing had forced the Germans to erect refineries for synthetic oil in some of their hinterlands. They chose Most with its coal-mines,

and built a mammoth works which has been named 'Stalin Works' as a token of gratitude to the Russians who did not confiscate it as war booty but handed it over as a gift to the Czechoslovak Government. These works produce enough synthetic oils to cover the whole country's petrol consumption, and their by-products are invaluable for the making of plastics, pharmaceutical products, etc. On the whole, however, far more harm than good was done.

Working for Recovery

The economic ruin they brought to the country has not been helped by the freezing of bank balances or by the enormous taxations, capital levies and so on. All that has brought the debt down, but the necessity to build up the country drives budget figures sky high, and, without enough gold and foreign currencies, the country is doing an enormous amount of work to make up for the losses. Yet one cannot but admire the quick recovery, the full-scale production, the relatively high standard of the population compared with that of other nations in Europe, England not excluded.

Nationalisation is not taken as something which is above criticism. For some time the topic was taboo, but now open criticism comes not only from newspapers but also from people like Mr. Zapotocky, the Communist Leader of the Unified Trade Union Movement, who recently invited open criticism and advice. The country—there is no doubt about that—is working hard to improve its standard. The Two Years' Plan represents the frame, and a lot is done by a willing population which, sober, diligent, thrifty and clever, really puts all its strength into the effort to make the Plan a success. Much, of course, depends on the international economic situation. A certain amount of harm is done by putting people in positions according to the Party to which they belong. The coalition of all parties in the Government is adhered to wherever posts are to be filled. If the general manager is a member of the Catholic Party, his deputy has to be a Communist, and vice versa. Many of these Party men have not the proper qualifications. The present wave of criticism is helping to undo the harm done in the first months.

The elections last year were fair and the results, showing the Communists as the strongest Party, gave a true picture of the situation at that time. Many, of course, voted Communist because, having become members of the Party at a time when it was generally assumed they would grab power under the shadow of Russian bayonets, they were interested in a Communist victory to secure their positions. Many who voted Communist would have voted Socialist but for the fact that there was a rumour, denied too late by Mr. Fierlinger, the then Socialist Prime Minister, that the Social Democrats would merge after the elections with the Communist Party. They have not done that, and are now drifting more and more away from collaboration with the Communists. It seems that they have gained considerably during the last months. So, in fact, but to a lesser degree, have the other two Parties—the Catholics and the National Socialists. It is presumed that the new elections will therefore somewhat reverse the figures, although the Communists deny that. Much will depend on the international situation at the time of the next elections, due in May 1948, but likely to be postponed until February 1949 after the completion of the Two Years' Plan.

East and West

Western culture has had a clear field for so long that cultural ties with the West, in spite of racial ties with the East, are very strong. But cultural ties can't shake the feeling that the West is not to be relied upon politically. The very existence of personalities like Mr. Jaksch, the former Czech General Prchala, now living in London, the presence of Mr. Durciansky in America with his autonomist group of Slovaks, and the support they obtain, are perpetual reminders to the Czech that to go

wholeheartedly with the West means to have no guarantee whatsoever against a second Munich.

It is the wish of the majority of the population that Czechoslovakia should form a bridge between East and West, a transit point for their mutual relations. The many international events of the past year have fortified them in their desire. As long as there is not an open break between East and West, Czechoslovakia will be able to hold this position, and to keep its independence. Many people voice the opinion that America is pressing them behind an iron curtain which does not exist. They deeply resent the recent press campaigns against their country, and complain that that is all they get for having behaved fairly, paid their war debts, and for having been an example of democracy in pre-war Europe. One can't exactly blame them for that. This kind of thing is exactly what drives many Czechs towards the Left. They are very anxious to keep their freedom and their independence. They don't want interference either from the East or from the West. There is today far more sympathy for England than for America, and many expected that England would defend them against American attacks. As an editor of a Right-Wing paper here told me: 'If England wants to exist, it will have to accept America's help and many conditions which will go against the feeling of the nation. Can't they understand that we are in a similar position towards Russia?'

The New Press

There has been some suggestion in the West that the press in Czechoslovakia is not free. This, in my opinion, is a fallacy.

Before the war the press was in private hands. Under German occupation there ensued only a change in some of the shareholders, and the disappearance of some Left-Wing publications. Size, lay-out, names, remained the same. Liberation brought a general house-cleaning. Editors and journalists of the pre-war generation who had refused to collaborate had disappeared in concentration camps, and only

MR. KOPECKY, *a Communist, is Minister of Information, yet newspapers from the West are allowed a large circulation*

a few returned. Those who had stayed on had had to work for the Germans, and not many were cleared by the Czech Press Association. The majority were barred for periods from writing; the main culprits were tried, and a new generation of journalists moved in, a generation which lacks experience and is not yet up to the old school. Thus the standard of newspapers, measured by pre-war times, is lower today, and many journalists write according to the view of the political party to which the paper belongs. But gradually things are improving, technically and morally.

The Czechoslovak Government, in its first press law, had to deal with a press whose shares were either in German hands or in those of people who had collaborated with the Germans. The new law therefore foresaw three groups of newspaper owners: political parties, which even in pre-war days had stood behind the private owners; cultural, religious or trade organisations, and, as the third group, nation-wide, non-political organisations such as the Czechoslovak Women's Association, the Ex-Servicemen's Association, etc.

Each of the four political parties in the historic countries, i.e. Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the three political parties in Slovakia, run their own dailies, weeklies, monthlies, etc. Their press is run on their respective party line, and internal news gives a picture of events seen through the eyes of the respective party. Foreign affairs are discussed on party level. The paper shortage, which only allows for one edition daily (six per week) with six pages —of which nearly two are taken up by advertisements and one by sport events— makes it imperative to give news as briefly as possible. Much space is, however, given to bickering between the various parties, and the Communist and the National Socialist papers attack each other bitterly. Criticism of foreign powers is rare, but you will find that Russia is attacked as often as America. Party papers are rather drab and uniform. Non-party papers are above the average. Some of them, like the paper of the Youth Organisation, *Young Front*, run by young newspapermen with new ideas, is an interesting experiment. *The Free Newspaper* and its weekly *Today*, edited by Peroutka, a pre-war journalist of considerable standing, are anti-Communist but give Communists, many of whom read these papers, a forum for discussions. In general there is not much outward change compared with the pre-war press. The Government is not exerting any censorship or pressure of any kind. Indeed, some Right-Wing papers carried attacks on Russia which evoked nothing more than severe criticism from the Left-Wing papers.

The Problem of Slovakia

To round off the picture it is necessary to stress the somewhat different problems with which Slovakia has to grapple, and the problem this country represents for the whole state. Mainly agricultural, with only a small and very ambitious intellectual upper shift, Slovakia saw its chance after Munich. The fact that it prospered economically during the war for no other reason than that it was for a long time Germany's hinterland, made many Slovaks think that independence would be better than living in one state with Czechoslovakia. Slovakia had no rationing. There are relatively far more Slovaks in Government jobs—in the country and abroad—than Czechs. Slovakia has its own authorities which in all respects govern the country independently. Only the Ministries of War, Finance and Foreign Affairs are centralised. For the rest there are shadow Ministries in Slovakia which hold the same powers as the Ministries in Prague. Here again the Communists have seen to it that nothing unforeseen can happen. They are holding the Ministry of the Interior with the police, although Communists are the weakest party in Slovakia.

Separatist tendencies are still prevalent in Slovakia and cause quite a headache to the Czech Government. Few Slovaks realise that neither their wartime prosperity nor their political independence would have survived had Germany been victorious. There are two things which keep them inside the framework of the republic: the fear that Russia would annex them if they tried to break loose, and the knowledge that the post-war world offers very few chances to a small independent state without much industry. The Czech Right-Wing Parties consider Slovakia with its predominantly Catholic and anti-Communist population a welcome help in keeping the internal balance, and the new state constitution which is in the making foresees a stressing of their autonomous character.

Czechoslovakia today represents the picture of a state which is doing its best to steer its own way in the turbulent waters of a post-war world, which is not easy for a small state of some twelve million inhabitants. They try to keep the balance between West and East as best they can. If they succeed in that, and much depends on the help and support they will get from the West, they will again become the progressive, democratic state they were before the war—slightly more progressive and democratic in the Eastern sense maybe, but still democratic enough to be accepted also by the critical and sometimes unfriendly West.

Jinnah

MAN OF DESTINY?

The Governor-General of the new dominion of *Pakistan* bears a heavy burden of responsibility. What is his personal character and how has he risen to leadership?

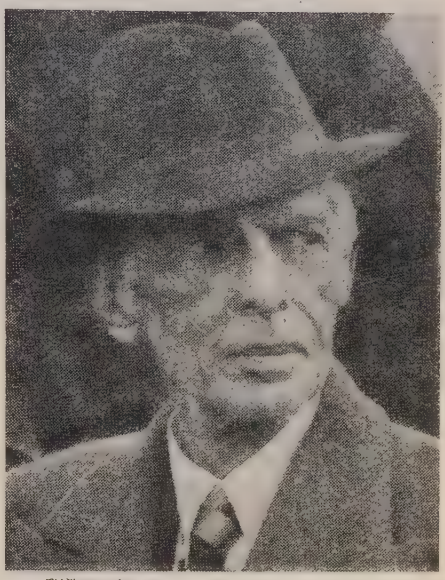
PROFESSOR SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH

LEADERSHIP in India is supposed to reside in prophets and priests. Mohamed Ali Jinnah is neither. He has no Oriental enchantment about him, not even a pretence of an ascetic's vision. Less than half a century ago, having had his share of early hardship as a briefless barrister, Jinnah ultimately prospered as may any industrious lawyer, but his appearances at the courts of law never attained the Himalayan heights reached and kept by many before and after him.

By dint of sheer hard work, he had carved out a niche for himself in his legal practice; and in time became an economically independent man. Some say he is passing rich. But such reward may come to any conscientious worker, if he plods away sincerely at his profession for a requisite number of years: there should be nothing magical about it.

The fact now, however, of being an uncrowned king of the newly formed Pakistan—the largest Moslem dominion peopled by sixty million sons of Islam—may not weigh much in comparison with the vastness of Russia or America, yet to transmute the facets of a mere political slogan into the practical shape of a state is a phenomenon from which its architect's personality cannot be disassociated. It is this baffling contradiction that entitles Jinnah to be numbered among the most considerable men of our time.

Jinnah has been made the mystery man of the East by those who know him least,



MOHAMED ALI JINNAH, *the architect of Pakistan*

because the Governor-General of Pakistan has no corners in his heart; he is a plain-speaking lawyer, honest to a fault. He began his politics as a disciple of a non-Moslem in the beginning of the century. In 1906 the Moslem League was formed, but Jinnah did not join it because he thought it was, then, sectionally Indian, for Jinnah was, and is, for India: All-India. But two years after this he, as a young and enthusiastic member of the Indian National Congress, advocated the attainment of self-government for India through constitutional means; and thereby made such a

meteoric rise that they selected him to accompany the greatest of India's political leaders, Gokhale, in order to persuade Lord Sinha to become the first Indian Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Spectacular though the start of the young lawyer was, few could discover the real secret of his sudden success—a secret which indeed many, even today, fail to note in the mental make-up of this truly unastonishing man. Jinnah perceived the most obvious fact, that it is elemental in man to desire to be the master of his own body and soul; in short, to crave after self-independence for himself and for his nation.

The White Sahibs had given the peasant the telegraph, telephone, railways, roads and canals, and even sanitary inspectors. He could sow and reap without molestation; in a word, have peace, but peace at what a price! And the Elders of the village, whose crops were mortgaged to the moneylenders for several seasons in advance, to pay the price of peace, nodded their hoary heads and said little.

Now the remarkable thing is that this has been going on for generations, and dumb dissatisfaction was hardening into ideals in more than ninety per cent of Indian hearts till the unspoken fetish of 'India for the Indians' became a faith. Jinnah fastened on to this with the tenacity of a fanatic. The call burnt into his soul. And, being in tune with the spirit of his people, he at once became a Massmann. The Congress welcomed him. He knew what the people wanted, and he would try to get it for them—with them.

To acquire that which the people want had exalted other men before him to greatness. Different national heroes chose various methods. The noteworthiness of Jinnah's advance lies in the fact that he became almost overnight a leader, for nothing short of the hand of destiny seemed to have beckoned him to tread the old path, but with refreshing novelty. Observe how he has done it.

Path to Leadership

Remarking upon the inadequacy of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, he invited his countrymen to study the Report, to comment upon the possibility of its modification, and assured them of success by convincing the British Parliament. It had a magical effect, for, first, the general unpopularity of the Report gave a clue to the mind of his people; secondly, by encouraging thinking persons to produce the elements of modification, a suggestion was created that possibly there were more faults than they could discover; and thirdly, the assurance of having the scheme corrected was more than any one of them individually could muster. The natural conclusion, therefore, was to place the whole matter in the hands of a person who could see a tangible remedy of India's ills. It was a method of finding a leader by an inverse system. Here, the message is the message of the people, but giving it a practical shape must surely be the task of one who had seen the thing so well as a whole. He must thus be a leader. And Jinnah was found.

Viewed in this light, the whole gamut of Jinnah's career becomes radiant, for in 1910 he strove to bring about Hindu-Moslem unity for the benefit of India. In 1912, whilst in the Imperial Legislative Council, he supported the Educational Bill with national enthusiasm, when even his distinguished co-religionists in the official ranks regarded the giving of further educational facilities as encouraging sedition; he staunchly upheld the case of Indians in South Africa; in 1913 he hotly challenged the diehard section of the British press in defence of the All-India National Congress; again and again, either from the Congress or the Moslem League platform, he urged the unity of India's peoples; in 1914 the Congress sent him to push forward the Reforms Scheme in London's India Council; in 1915 he exhorted the Bombay Moslem students to unite with the Hindus; in 1917 he joined the Home Rule League of Mrs. Annie Besant, and

advocated equal rights in the deliberations of the India Defence Bill, and those who style him as anti-Hindu forget that it was he who presided, in 1918, at a protest meeting when anti-British Tilak was not permitted to visit England to air Indian national grievances.

His passage of arms with Lord Willingdon on national issues, his revolt against the Rowlatt Act, and much else that can be cited, go amply to prove that Jinnah has always considered it his life's work to devote himself entirely to the winning of self-government for India.

Respect for Law

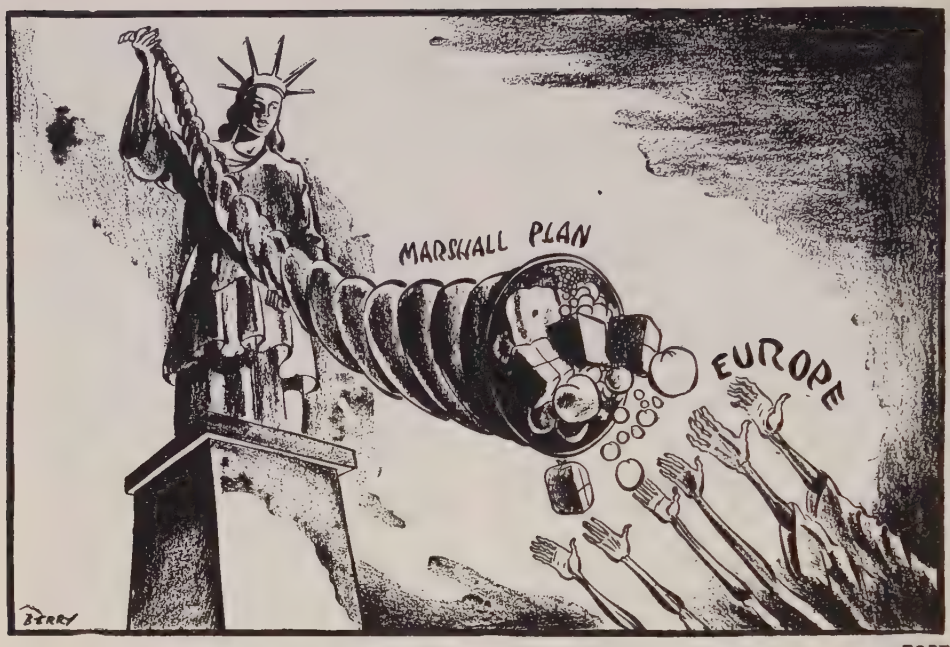
During the political advance in India, Jinnah's rôle has also been influenced by his legal training. He is, above all, a constitutionalist. He examines the case with the dispassion of a judge. Law is death to day-dreaming and unreal idealism, and thus it was that he soon renounced Gandhism, and the hot gospel of the Ali brothers; the one staggering the imagination with the phantasmagoria of ancient Hindu kingdoms, and the other presenting to the faithful the carpeted glades of mystic Samarkand.

In regard to the respect in which Jinnah holds the law of the country, be it said that when he was bitterly critical of practically all instruments of the British for withholding India's independence, he strongly supported the Government in connection with upholding law and order: 'Those men who have a desire to undermine the authority of the Government,' he said in 1913, on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 'those men who have a desire to disturb law and order, are, in my opinion, the biggest enemies of my country and my people. I believe in criticising the Government freely and frankly,' he continued 'but we must help the Government, when Government is right.'

To some he appears regally aloof, and, in demeanour, even a trifle brusque; but in a country where unhurried steps and gracious durbars are still the hallmark of Oriental refinement, where there is always another day, if his talk lacks a little the spontaneous warmth that captivates the heart of many a man in Old Delhi, can Jinnah's rather forbidding language not be regarded as shedding a certain grave decorum, calculated to keep the fools away? Also, many have regarded him as vain and more than a little haughty, acting perhaps upon Disraeli's dictum that in order to govern men, one ought to be either their superior, or despise them. No fair-minded person who ever had close contact with the Governor-General of Pakistan will agree to that slander. He undoubtedly is a hard taskmaster—only the best is good enough for him, for it should never be forgotten that he inherits a state which, unlike its neighbours, is a long way off from being fully equipped. Therefore, he demands complete efficiency and thus, being a man in a hurry, he does not suffer fools gladly; a hundred million Moslems look to him for guidance to make them a first-class power, and therefore he has no time for empty graces and niceties merely for tradition's sake.

The building of a new state is very much like a battle—the commander-in-chief must be obeyed implicitly if victory is to be achieved. For the rest, he is wholly unspoiled by success, for success seemed almost to have been inevitable to him in all phases of Indian politics for the last thirty years.

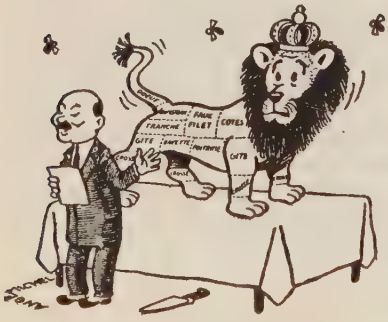
In other respects, Jinnah is quite human: he likes good silk suits, is fond of physical wellbeing, could eat richly spiced Indian curries if his digestion permitted, and his cigarette smoking could be lessened. He could even have a hobby, if he did not devote every leisure hour to reading all the newspapers published in India. Jinnah is no enigma of India. He is a lawyer with a brief and he wants to win the case, the case being Pakistan. Yet Jinnah's name will remain a symbol of fierce hate to some, and of fierce enthusiasm to many, in the past and present story of India.



TREK

'Permanent Performance of the three comedians at the World Theatre. Admission Free'

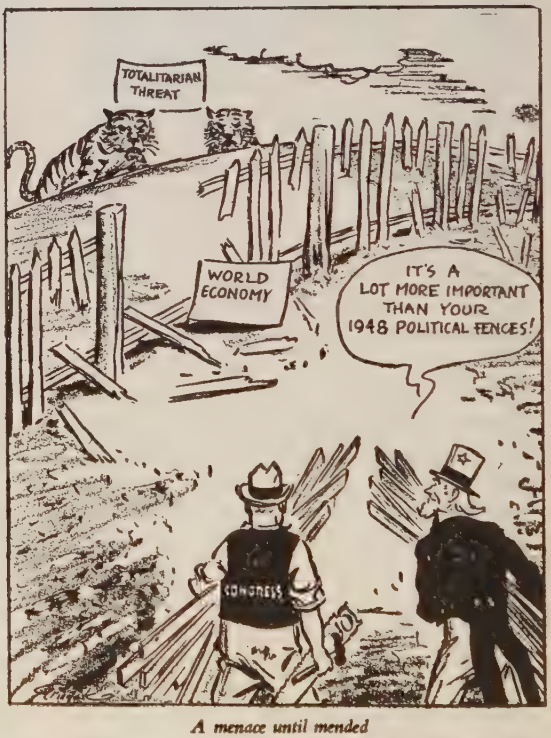
DIE WELTWOCHE, Switzerland



ATTLEE

The Government has decided to utilise to the maximum the resources of our country

CARREFOUR



A menace until mended

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

WORLD SAID!

No excess baggage

DAILY MAIL

Now, all together

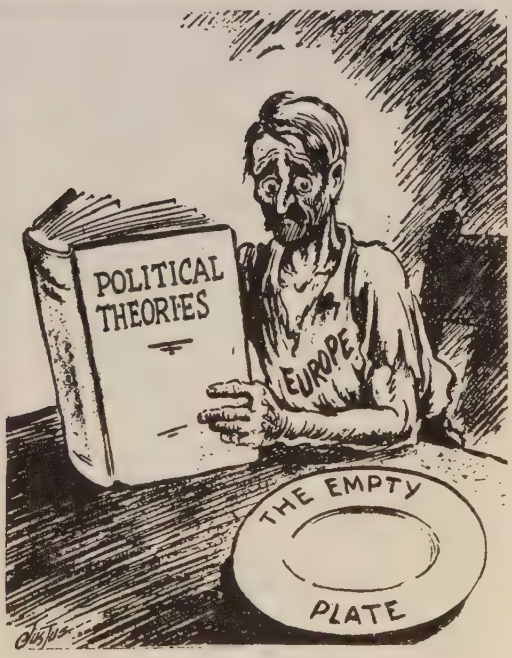
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

The middleman

U.S. NEWS

Can he stop it?

MONTGOMERY (Alabama) ADVERTISER



Concentration

MINNEAPOLIS STAR

The Foreign Office, an architectural monstrosity and symbol of an outworn attitude of mind

NO MORE FOREIGN AFFAIRS!

Everyone must realise that world affairs cannot be separated from domestic issues—for nations are interdependent for their prosperity. The Foreign Office should become the Office of World Affairs as a first step in this psychological offensive

GERALD SAMSON

WHILST the Government are to be congratulated on changing the name of the Dominions Office to that of the Commonwealth Relations Office, the more pressing need to do away with the Foreign Office appears to have been overlooked. The Dominions Office was re-named because it was liable to convey a misleading impression of the relations between the United Kingdom and other members of the Commonwealth. Much more misleading, and fraught with far graver consequences, is the retention of the Foreign Office which serves to perpetuate the 'foreign affairs' approach to World Affairs.

So long as we have a Foreign Office aided and abetted by a Parliament, a press and an educational system which presents our relations with other countries in terms of 'foreign policy' and 'foreign affairs', we are, however unwittingly, effectively fostering the traditional belief of our forefathers that nations are complete sovereign units and can conduct their affairs as if domestic and external policies are things apart. We are maintaining the illusion that other countries are 'foreign' and therefore inferior bodies, thereby nurturing an insular antipathy towards the visitor from abroad, especially if he seeks to make Britain his home. Moreover, should the 'intruder' wish to work here and contribute to our productivity, this antipathy is likely to inspire immediate and open hostility.

In spite of Britain's acute manpower

shortage, it took our Socialist Government nearly eighteen months to overcome their deep-seated prejudice to the employment of volunteer labour from Europe, and more precious months elapsed before the Trade Union Congress could be persuaded to give its consent in principle to the importation of alien labour. Nevertheless, only some 20,000 D.P.s are at work here since individual trade unions have yet to be convinced that there are no longer any grounds for the hereditary fears of their members that the use of 'foreign' labour means the displacement of domestic labour and resultant unemployment. More than 300 lodges of the National Union of Mineworkers have objected to the employment of Poles and other 'foreign' labour in the coal industry, and no less than 1,000 Poles have been expelled from the engineering industry by the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Popular misconceptions of such dimensions directly menace our national well-being. They constitute one of the root causes of our drifting into two world wars within a generation, and today they represent a formidable barrier to Britain's economic recovery and her ability to play a leading rôle in world reconstruction. Never having been taught to think in terms of world affairs, or to appreciate the extent to which individual nations have become economically interdependent, and that notably for Britain this interdependence is both a permanent and dominating feature of our national existence, the present crisis has caught the body politic *psychologically unprepared.* It remains unconvinced that our entire economic structure is endangered, and until this incredulity and cynicism has been dissipated by enlightenment, it will be neither mentally equipped nor spiritually impelled to make the vigorous and decisive response to the exhortations for increased production on which so much depends.

The grim debate on the economic state of the nation before Parliament adjourned focused attention on the close connection between domestic and external affairs. The loans we received from the United States and Canada were aptly described by Mr. Attlee as 'essentially measures to buy time for ourselves and the rest of the Old World to recover.' They were steps on the road to multilateral trade and convertible currencies, although only slow progress had been made in these directions. It had been anticipated that the American loan would give Britain three years to achieve an economic equilibrium, but the march of events had reduced the breathing space to thirteen months.

With the United States credit virtually exhausted, the alarming growth of our dollar deficit has had to be checked.

European Customs Union?

It was left to Sir Stafford Cripps, however, to emphasise that no immediate reduction of imports or extension of exports could in themselves remedy Britain's plight. For some time Liberal economists have been stressing that Britain cannot hope to survive as a great power, much less prosper, in isolation. The world-wide dollar shortage is fundamentally a problem of under-production in the Eastern Hemisphere, and the only permanent solution is the restoration, as speedily as possible, of the balance of productivity in the Old World and the New. The surest aid to Britain's international balance of payments, as Lord Layton has observed, is the recovery of European food production. (It is worth recalling that in 1938 France, for example, produced more wheat than Canada.) The moment Europe's food begins to flow again, prices will begin to fall. Nevertheless, the Government hesitated to take the lead in promoting a concerted plan for the economic revival of as much of Europe as was willing to participate in some such joint venture until prompted to do so by the inspired speech of Secretary-of-State George Marshall on 5 June, in which he generously proffered American assistance to help Europe regain its economic feet.

Happily, Mr. Marshall's proposal, which should be interpreted as an invitation to

Europe to produce a plan that will enable it gradually to return to a position in which it would be paying its own way, was accepted by the British and French governments as a clarion call to action. Representatives of sixteen European nations met in Paris to draw up such a plan, and their report, which falls far short of what it might have been, is now being studied in Washington.

Mr. Marshall was quick to realise that to attempt to put each European country separately on its feet would be an impossible task, and rightly made a 'joint' programme the condition of American aid. The most striking and promising proposal for the eventual formation of an area within which a currency and customs union would facilitate the free exchange of goods, services and labour in accordance with the needs of the over-all plan, came from the Benelux [1] (Belgium-Netherlands-Luxembourg) countries. This would be accomplished, presumably, by progressive stages and in the process the countries concerned would sacrifice some of their economic sovereignty. Although it might be possible to disguise this fact, the bold backing by Britain of a supra-national plan to break away from the traditional ideas of sovereignty would, I am convinced, have the most beneficial results. The pattern of the Benelux Customs Union, moreover, encourages the belief that no insuperable difficulties need arise in co-ordinating the economic resources of the Commonwealth within a European Customs Union. Sad to relate, however, the wisdom and vision of these small nations has not yet reached across the Channel, and a feeling of frustration and bitter disappointment was caused when the British delegation persuaded the Conference to shelve the whole question of a European Customs Union by turning the matter over to a series of undefined study groups. The British Government's threat to cut imports from Europe in order to help solve our own problems caused genuine dismay, since it was logically interpreted as an attempt to seek isolated salvation rather than the common salvation of Western Europe. Such dangerous daydreaming by the Cabinet is positively frightening, reinforced as it is by a Gallup Poll discovery in August that nearly two-thirds of our people knew nothing about the Marshall offer.

The brief examination of our economic predicament and its sweeping ramifications indicates how tightly interlocked Britain's welfare is with that of the world in general. The all-important link between British industry and diplomacy (which bears directly on the contribution Britain should be able to make to the success of the Paris plan) was the keynote of a July speech by Mr. Ernest Bevin. 'Give me the weapons,' he called to the coal-miners, the textile workers and other friends, 'so that I can carry on not only to help in your prosperity, but to try and complete a decent peace for the world of the future.'

Office of World Affairs

Such eloquent appeals have proved of little value, and it would be utter folly not to face this issue realistically. They pass right over the heads of most people, who remain inert and unresponsive, and nothing less than a revolutionary change of outlook in the country as a whole will alter things. Time is no longer on our side, and the pace could best be set by the Foreign Secretary himself who could destroy the 'vicious circle' by taking steps to bury once and for all the old diplomacy and its mischievous jargon. Its most symbolic emblem is, of course, the Foreign Office. Mr. Bevin should persuade the Government to abolish it forthwith and to establish in its place an Office of World Affairs. (Mr. Bevin would then have earned the honour of becoming the world's first Secretary of State for World Affairs.)

The new office, which should be housed in the most modern and inspiring edifice our architects can devise, should not only *mark* but *make* an epoch. It should mark the official abandonment of the 'foreign affairs' approach to world affairs, and become epoch-making as spearhead of a mighty educational offensive

Gerald Samson, writer, lecturer and politician, is a recognised specialist on the Far East and an authority on World Affairs. No 'armchair critic', his opinions have been formed against the background of a life packed with interest and adventure. Arrested by the Japanese during the Tokyo military rebellion in 1936, he later became Reuter's special war correspondent in China, and is the author of *The Far East Ablaze*. During the war he served with the R.A.F. in many theatres. Recently returned from a 25,000 mile fact-finding mission to China, which included talks with Chiang Kai-shek, he is now Liberal candidate for the Barnet division.

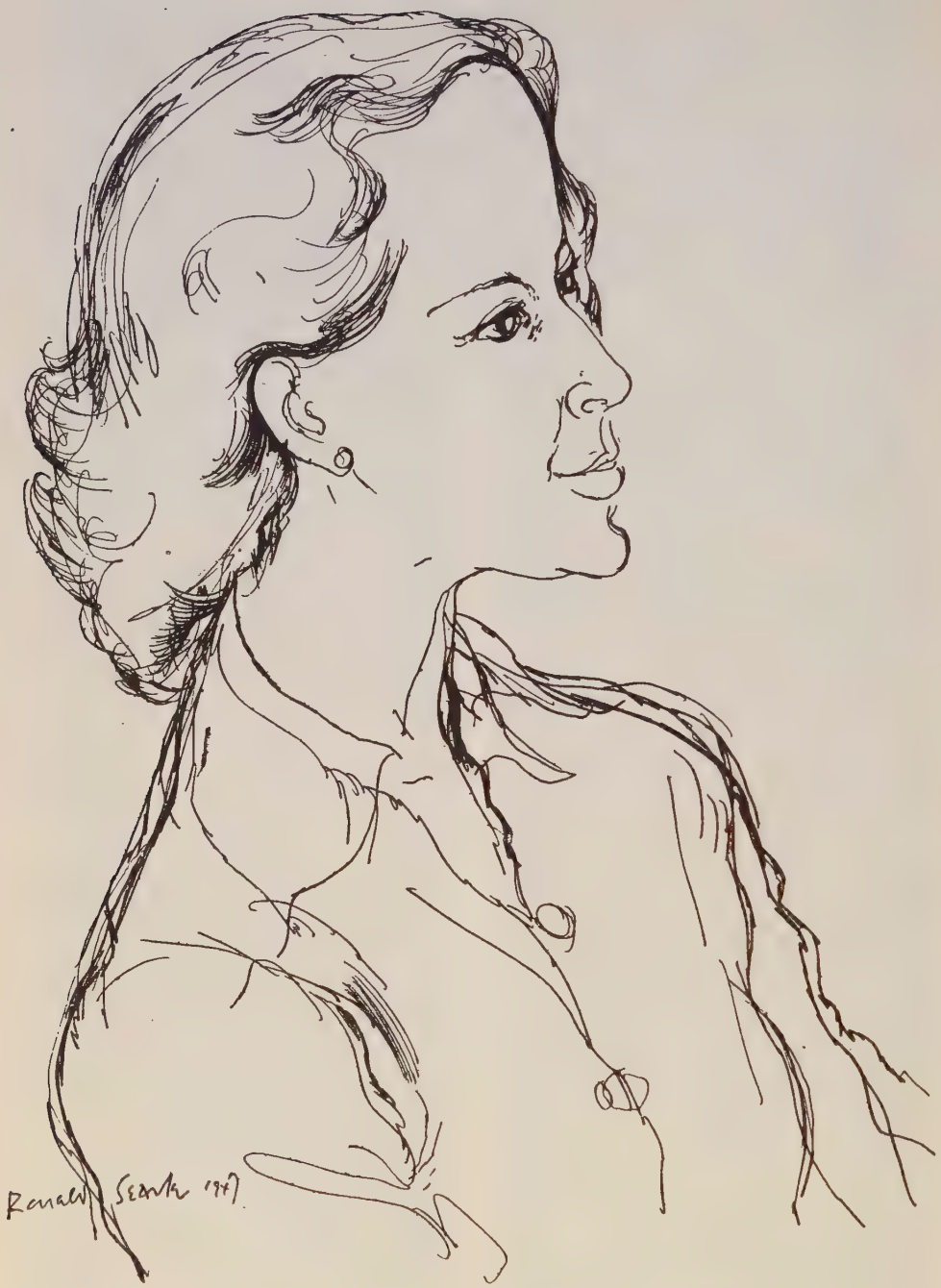
at home designed to create a world-minded and informed public opinion capable of intelligent decision. This should be achieved by the regular publication and diffusion of factual reports and appreciations of news and conditions overseas. Every known medium for reaching the people should be enlisted, and special attention given to seeing that an appropriate psychological presentation of the data is made to each section of the community.

The New Approach

I envisage, for instance, a more enlightened utilisation of the B.B.C., national poster and press advertising, the State educational services, adult educational associations and discussion groups. Industrial organisations should be asked to join in by granting facilities for poster and photographic exhibitions as was done so successfully during the war. Appeals for wholehearted co-operation should also be made to the editors of the press (whose paper cuts should be annulled), to such institutions as Chatham House and the National Book League, and to religious bodies, to forward the top priority task of continually keeping the people informed of the direct and indirect relations between domestic and world affairs. A revaluation of history relating it not to the grandeur of Britain at the expense of other countries, but to the development of the world as a whole, should be undertaken independently, and in the process of educating ourselves on world lines, we should have the additional satisfaction of rendering a practical service to Unesco.

The creation of the new office should likewise be the occasion for carrying out a number of long-overdue reforms. Among the most urgent is that of making proper provision for the rising significance of events in Asia and the Pacific. Positive recognition should be given to the fact that Far Eastern affairs will have a greater influence on the future of mankind than any happening in Europe. It is no longer physically possible for a single Under Secretary of State to study objectively all that is occurring the world over, so the Government should at once appoint a second Under Secretary of State who would be responsible to Mr. Bevin for surveying and supervising matters relating to that part of the world east of Suez, in collaboration with his opposite number in the Commonwealth Relations Office whenever common interests are involved.

Let there be no mistake about it, Britain's destiny is in the balance. The critical situation in which we find ourselves is a challenge from which there is no escape. We can either sit back and permit the twin enemies of ignorance and indifference to drag us down to the status of an impoverished third-class power with all its pitiful consequences, or we can be inspired by a true sense of perspective and responsibility to win back for ourselves the proud position of a great and prosperous power that will continue to teach other nations how to live!



Specially drawn for WORLD REVIEW *by Ronald Searle*

PROFILE (5)

Barbara Ward

J. R. ST. JOHN

BROADCASTING has the strange power of enabling us to feel that we know intimately someone whom we have never met. In some cases a broadcaster's 'radio personality' is entirely artificial. But Barbara Ward is exactly the same person you got to know so well on the Brains Trust. This more than anything was the reason for her outstanding success on the air, for she showed that there need be no gap between intellectual pursuits and everyday life, and that Learning, so far from of necessity being dry as dust, is sometimes none the worse for a little feminine charm.

She came to the Brains Trust as Assistant Editor on the *Economist*, but she gave her first broadcast on behalf of the 'Sword of the Spirit', a Catholic movement concerned with the moral and spiritual issues of the war. The Church of Rome has always provided the fundamental influence in her life, but it has not prevented her from believing in Socialist economics. She claims that many of the Church's leaders are out of gear socially, and as well as being an advocate of Pius XI's 'Quadragessima Anno', she has read and agreed with a good deal of Marx's *Kapital*.

As a journalist her speciality is International Affairs and the *Economist* has sent her on many trips abroad. She travels by plane, which terrifies her, and sends back well-balanced reports, written only after the most terrible labour. She has just returned from the United States, where she found most people in an extraordinary confusion of mind. She considers that another economic slump will most certainly strike America, and that at home we should worry far more about raising coal production than dollars.

During the week she lives in a bachelor flat in Chelsea; she usually spends the week-ends with her parents at Felixstowe. Her father is a solicitor and she enjoyed a normal, middle-class childhood. At seven she was sent to a convent day-school and at fifteen abroad to learn languages, first to the Lycée Molière in Paris and then to live with a family in Germany. She finished up at Somerville College where she won a First in Modern Greats.

Her ambition was to be a great singer. Then came sanctions and the Civil War in Spain, and she became a speaker for the League of Nations Union. The charming voice and the concise, logical explanations made an impression and she became a University Extension lecturer. The work gave her time to fit in a stay in Turkey and to write a book on the Colonies called *The International Share-out*, but after the outbreak of war she found herself at a loose end. She was told that the *Economist* needed someone to lend a hand for a few weeks and she has stayed ever since.

Although only thirty-three, she is also a Governor of the B.B.C. and of the Old Vic. Yet she is very far from being one of those earnest, professional women who have no interest in their own sex. She dresses pleasantly and when she is talking her face is too alive for anyone to call her unattractive. She would enjoy having children and says she would have no difficulty in putting them before her career. She is still at the beginning of the best years of her life, and it is likely that in some way or other she will make an increasingly important contribution to the problems of our time. Uppermost in her mind will always be her belief that both human sinfulness and human greatness make tolerance essential.

Democracy and the Free Society

True Democracy is based on acceptance of the principle that the minority is free to become the majority. Only through economic self-discipline will the 'free society' survive

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

DEMOCRACY is up against it now—in Britain, and everywhere else where it survives. The Battle of Britain was merely a melodramatic symbol of the unremitting grind of the struggle to come, in which we are now involved. This struggle will not be finally decided for many years, but only at the end of it shall we know beyond all doubt whether democracy is capable of existence in the modern world.

What is Democracy? Such is the mental and moral confusion today that even the basic idea of democracy is weakened in many minds by the claim of Soviet Russia to be the example and the champion of 'real democracy'. The claim is quite specious. The notion that something called 'economic democracy' is more genuinely democractic than political democracy could only be entertained by minds which have never understood what democracy is.

Democracy is political democracy, or it is humbug: a bait to trap fools into slavery. And political democracy is a system whereby the Government, the men who control the State, are freely chosen by the citizens; and are chosen by them on the clear understanding that they are fully free to replace them by another Government whenever they choose. Hence the absolute necessity in democracy of freedom of speech and association. Where these do not exist, democracy cannot. The pretence that a governing group can 'represent' the people, without being freely chosen by them and without being liable to dismissal by them, is an evil fantasy.

We take democracy for granted. It has become a habit. It occurs to few of us to reflect how remarkable a political system it is. It rests on the universal conviction that government must be based on consent. But

John Middleton Murry, distinguished author, poet and critic, is one of the most provocative thinkers of this century. He has never been afraid of controversy or apparent inconsistency in his search for the political system which most nearly accords with the Christian ethic. For many years editor of the *Adelphi*, his widely varied range of published books include *Keats and Shakespeare*, *Life of Jesus*, *Reminiscences of D. H. Lawrence* (whom he knew well), a biography of Katherine Mansfield, his first wife, and his own autobiography, *Between Two Worlds*. In *Who's Who* he gives his recreation as bee-keeping!

what the citizens of democracy consent to is not the acts of any particular government, but the working of the democratic system itself. The democratic citizen obeys the directions of a government of which he may totally disapprove, on condition that he is free to criticise them, and that, so soon as a majority of his fellows can be found to share his disapproval and to express it, the government will gracefully give way to another. This willing obedience of a minority to a majority is given on condition that the minority is free to become the majority.

This freedom is taken for granted by the members of the free society—which is a better phrase than democracy to describe the system. Indeed, it is essential to the continued life of the free society that this freedom should be taken for granted, and should be exercised as a second nature. But because of this it is seldom clearly realised how mysterious is this simple thing. *Why* should the majority allow the minority freedom to become the majority? It is not sufficient to say that it is because the majority desires to have the same freedom when it becomes the minority. For why should it not determine never to allow itself to become the minority again—in other words, having established itself in power, to maintain its hold on power by force?

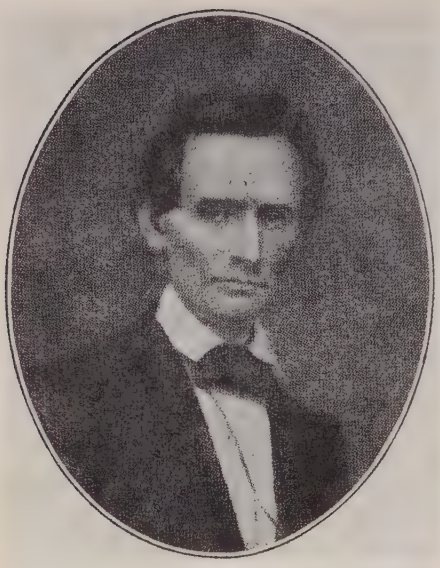
The only answer to this question is that throughout the free society, it is felt to be a binding moral law that the minority must be free to become the majority. That is the true answer to the question; and it underlies any answer to the question that is not nonsensical. The free society, or genuine democracy, can be defined as the society in which this moral law is universally acknowledged, in act if not in thought.

That brings us directly to the mystery of the moral law. There is either nothing to say about it, or a very great deal. Immanuel Kant, whose home-city, Königsberg, has been recently annexed by the Russians, wrote two very profound volumes about it: which can be summed up simply by saying that obedience to the moral law is the condition of human freedom and rationality. We cannot rationally will our own freedom without willing the freedom of all other members of society. The moral law, obedience to which sustains the free society, is something which a man is compelled to acknowledge and obey by his distinctive humanity.

The free society is the society in which the moral law becomes explicit and is consciously obeyed. Historically, it is a fact that it is only within the last generation that the fully-free society has been brought into being in Britain—with the introduction of the universal adult franchise. People do not understand what an extraordinarily novel experiment it is. Its revolutionary novelty consists in this: that for the first time in human history the political society in its entirety becomes the instrument of the moral life. Every one of its members is endowed with the life of freedom and responsibility.

The Moral Law

The name we generally give to our faculty for recognising and obeying the moral law is conscience. Using this word, we must say that the free society can only be understood as the political society which, being based on conscience, has shaped its political institutions in accordance with conscience, in order that it may progressively discover what the content of conscience actually is. The actual legislation of the free society, its social and political institutions, as they are continually modified and amended by the active conscience of society, are the concrete content of conscience, the detailed application of the moral law. In simpler religious terms, they are the progressive revelation of the will of God in and through a society which has, by its institutions and its universal acknowledgement of the moral law of which they are the expression, made itself obedient to that will. What keeps the free society from being (for long) the expression of a will hostile to God is precisely the moral law which commands that the minority shall



ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809–1865), *whose conception of democracy was founded on his belief in man's right to freedom*

at all times be free to become the majority. The free society never stifles the voice of its own conscience. It may, and it often does, sin; but it jealously guards the freedom to repent.

This may seem a very exalted conception of the free society: and the religious phraseology may be antipathetic. I do not insist upon it; indeed, I use it only as a convenient shorthand. But what I do insist upon is that the free society is founded upon the recognition of the moral law as objective and absolute. It is the moral law alone—not any consideration of expedience—which sustains and can sustain the free society. The obligation to maintain freedom within it is an absolute obligation. Those who consent, even in thought, to the prevalent notion that morality is essentially relative, or that it is dependent on the methods of economic production, are traitors to the free society.

Thus we come nearer to an understanding of what the free society actually is. It is a society which has *chosen* to live the life of responsible moral freedom. In creating a society which, as a society, enjoys the privilege and experiences the precariousness of this life of freedom, man has taken the most astonishing step forward on the road to higher things that he has ever taken. It is, I believe, incommensurably more important than the Communist Revolution of Russia which, because it was not an advance made within the limiting conditions of the free society, must inevitably prove to have been a retrogression—*if* the free society remains in being as a criterion to judge it by. But what is particularly remarkable about the free society is that it is in jeopardy so soon as it is regarded as a purely human achievement. For, as we have seen, its existence depends entirely upon the acknowledgement of the reality and universality of the moral law. If that moral law once came to be regarded as a mere human convention, like the rules of a game, the free society would be dealt a mortal blow.

Democracy in Britain

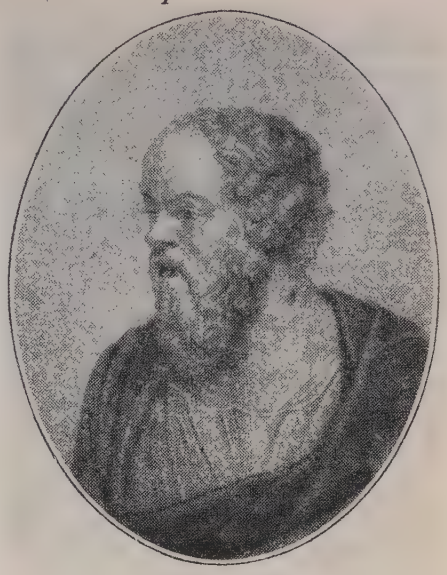
Yet, the actual situation of the free society is singular. It cannot be said that many citizens of Britain are conscious of the moral law by their obedience to which their free society exists. On the whole, they behave as though they recognised it; but it behoves us to remember that the main advance towards the free society was made in the nineteenth century—that is, in a period in which no particular strains were put on the working of British democracy. It was easy to be good at a time when, owing to a virtual British monopoly of industrial exports, economic individualism was a sufficient motivation to make the country a going concern: and this was accepted on both sides of the political antithesis which a workable democracy requires. But now, with the almost total disappearance of British industrial monopoly, we have entered on a period in which economic individualism is simply disastrous as the main social motive, yet nothing adequate has arisen to take its place. For it is obvious now that Labour Socialism is based on the illusion that the mere process of 'nationalisation' would itself miraculously create in the workers a will to work

harder, in spite of the fact that Labour propaganda has indoctrinated them with the notion that Socialism meant more pay for less work, more rights and less duties.

What the economic situation requires is plain: the will to work for the common weal. But it is extremely difficult to evoke that, when so many striking inequalities and injustices remain, and not a few new ones have been created by the Labour Government itself. British democracy is thus faced with the enormously difficult task of maintaining itself in being as an economic community, which produces its own livelihood, and remaining a free society. Ultimately, the only way this can be done is by achieving an *economic self-discipline* of the same moral order as the political self-discipline which is essential to the free society. This is a much harder task: very much harder than even the conscious minority yet understands. For British democracy has grown to manhood in a congenial atmosphere of economic indiscipline and self-assertion: political freedom and economic freedom went hand in hand. The idea that political freedom now requires economic discipline to maintain it is still a revolutionary novelty to most. It is not surprising that Communist Russia is expecting the collapse of democracy. The cosmic bookmaker is probably offering long odds against the chances of the free society surviving.

Yet there is no doubt that it can survive, and more than survive; it can enter on a period of much more glorious existence if its members have the will to maintain the free society. The grim economic problem of the national existence can be solved by the methods of political freedom, on condition that the citizens of the free society have the courage to choose to govern them men who have the courage to give the necessary orders, and the citizens have the will to obey them. But there is no denying that we are, as yet, very far from that condition. A mental and moral revolution has still to be undergone, on both sides of the political antithesis.

At present it must be reckoned doubtful whether the free society of Britain has the will to live, as a free society. That will to live can be asserted, or re-asserted, only by a new apprehension of the moral law. Men have to understand not only that the political freedom of the free society depends upon the moral law, but that the *same* moral law requires them to submit to economic discipline. *The free society is the self-disciplined society;* and only a renascence of morality can make men voluntarily submit to the discipline required if freedom is not to perish.



SOCRATES, *who chose the hemlock cup at the hands of the so-called democrats of Athens rather than surrender his freedom of speech*

Subversive Doctrines

We must face the facts. There are many forces making not for a renascence and growth of morality, but engaged in destroying its foundations. Political doctrines have been propagated, for the last thirty years, with fanatical zeal, which assume the groundlessness and deny the validity of the moral law. Such are the doctrines of Nazism and Fascism; such is the still more dangerous, because comprehensive and universal, doctrine of Communism. These are explicit political doctrines which completely deny that society can have a

conscience, and have for its continuous purpose the keeping of the conscience alive and active. But equally subversive doctrines are being propagated in other fields. The reductive psychology of the psychoanalysts, the historical relativism of the anthropologists, which are propagated as scientific truth, equally deny the objective reality of the moral law. Thus, a very large number of the intellectuals of the free society are engaged in undermining it. They have allowed themselves to be gravely infected by doctrines which are, in the not very long run, fatal to the free society and to the pursuit of truth itself; and, being intellectuals, they disseminate the disease.

Thus it spreads, with alarming rapidity, among the many who are now becoming intellectually conscious. The number of these will be vastly increased by the new educational reforms. For these raw recruits to the intellectual life the new subversive doctrines have a powerful attraction: they offer a great (and false) simplification of human experience, and they give the disciple a sense of superiority—the feeling that he is 'in the know'. They make an overwhelming appeal to what the French call *l'esprit primaire*.

Abuse of Freedom

The only remedy for this disease is to counter it with the antidote. Here comes a new difficulty. For though the antidote exists, it is not easily available except in forms which make it suspect to the honest mind. It is far too easily and unctuously maintained that, in order to believe in the reality of conscience and the moral law, one must believe in the Christian religion. That is simply untrue. What is true is that belief in conscience and the moral law is compatible with some forms of the Christian faith and incompatible with others. But the belief can be, and today most often is, held in complete independence of the Christian religion. There are many to whom the validity of the moral law, which is the nexus of the free society, is self-evident—a matter of immediate experience. I myself am convinced of the truth of Kant's insight that recognition of the moral law is the condition of rationality itself—of the life of reason as distinct from the life of mere intelligence.

What is required, therefore, is a movement of imaginative understanding of the free society and impassioned faith in it as indispensable to man's distinctive humanity—a movement so strong and so convinced that it can re-inspire the free society with the knowledge and love of the moral law on which it depends, and irradiate it with a spiritual discipline which will reject the temptations of lawless thought and lawless action. Without this, humanity will lose the freedom it has endured so much to achieve. At the present moment, the free society is engaged in a fatal abuse of its liberty: using its freedom to sap the foundations of freedom. This self-contradictory, self-destroying freedom is, at every level, economic, political, intellectual, educational, the gravest menace to the free society, because it is self-engendered. Absolute freedom is absolute nihilism. The only true and enduring freedom is that which is achieved by self-limitation, and obedience to a universal law whose validity is self-evident to human reason. If the intelligence of a free society is so warped that it cannot discover this law, and its instinct so perverted that it cannot accept it, the free society will perish. Humanity will be bereft of the wonderful instrument it has created for seeking the truth—the dialectical brotherhood of the free society—at the moment it has created it. It will turn its back on the new dimension of experience as soon as it has reached the door.

> Popular governments have hitherto uniformly glided into democracies, and democracies as uniformly perish of their own excess.
>
> J. A. FROUDE—*Short Studies, Party Politics*

My Personal Export Drive

ANTHONY ARMSTRONG

ENGLAND sorely needs dollars; and to get them we must export everything we can. Now I am not an industrial manufacturer, merely a not-so-industrious author, but the other day it dawned on me that, instead of sitting around blaming the Government for shortages, I, too, might help the export drive. I could write a short story specially designed to find a home in an American magazine, and thus in person bring dollars into the country. So I sat down and produced an absolute smasher called 'The Strange Affair of the American Private and the Girl from Waterbury Parva'—or, as re-titled on second thoughts for the U.S.A. market, 'Hiya Toots!'

I then sent it to my agents with instructions to push it across the pond and warn Dalton to expect big things in the near future. They wrote back and said they'd have to get a permit and it'd cost sixpence.

I rushed round in great indignation. 'Am I to understand,' I said, 'that I who am merely anxious to make dollars for the country—not to mention sterling for myself, and not further to mention a large proportion of that sterling for the country again in the shape of Income Tax—have actually to get a permit to do so, *and* pay for the privilege?' They said briefly: 'You're on!'

I said: 'Am I to understand that this honestly is required for a dozen pages of MS., which may or may not be sold in the

U.S.A.? For, say, a steam-roller, already ordered and taking up a trifle more shipping space than an envelope, I agree, but for a story called "Hiya Toots!" it's absurd.' They said: 'You're telling *us*. But the Board of Trade has stated that, under the Finance Regulations, we'd be for it if we sent material over for offer without one of these permit forms, for which the bank charges sixpence.' They then scratched about on the desk and produced a four-page buff affair called C.D.3.

I said: 'Am I to understand . . .' They said: 'Yes.' Obviously they were getting bored with me. I took C.D.3 and left.

Still determined to earn dollars for England, I grappled with the horrible

thing that night. Two of the four pages were notes, to be read before I completed the form—page two on *Procedure at Time of Export* and page four on *Receipt of Payments*. I thought I could safely ignore the latter till the U.S.A. had done their part, and so settled down to *Procedure at Time of Export*.

Asking Too Much!

It began in a big way by telling me to read the *Notices to Exporters* obtainable from any collector of Customs and Excise. I decided to ignore those too: I mean to say, Customs and Excise for an export called 'Hiya Toots!' Next I was informed I had to hand the completed form to the Customs at the time the goods were 'pre-entered for export'; after which I ploughed through a long paragraph under three headings about signatures of 'seller or consignor'—that's what I was by then—and finally got to a bit where it said pages 1 and 2 would be retained by the Customs and pages 3 and 4 handed back to me to be dealt with as explained in the notes on page 4.

This nearly fooled me into tackling page 4 after all, but I suddenly saw that the following paragraph was headed *Exports by Post*. Up to now, it seemed, 'Hiya Toots!' had been trying to go by cargo steamer—lowered gently by cranes into the hold and so forth. So I read on.

It now appeared that pages 1 and 2, when filled in, were to be placed in an envelope marked 'Currency Declaration' and then 'attached firmly to the package in such a manner as to be readily detachable.' Knowing the way the Post Office often deals with packages, this bit seemed to me easy. Were I to attach it with chain-cable, rivets, marine glue and a touch of welding, I was convinced that in Post Office hands it would still prove 'readily detachable'.

The notes concluded with a helpful paragraph about *Special Arrangements* and a threatening one about *False Statements*, and then I started to fill in the actual form. First: *Name and Address of Consignor?* Easy! Me... *Ditto of Buyer?* Any American Editor... *Short Description of Goods?* 'Hiya Toots!', a story about an open-faced, open-handed and sometimes open-mouthed G.I. called Hank, who falls in love with a charming English girl called Moitle. He's part of the U.S. Army of Occupation, billeted in an English village, where he.... Oh, the hell with it! The Customs can read the goods for themselves!...

The next question was: *Amount to be Received in Payment?* Answer: Search me—I shouldn't be surprised if they took this literally—why, it may vary from 500 dollars with luck, right down to nil... or rather to a debit of 2½d. postage, plus 6d. for Form C.D.3.... *Approximate Date of Payment?* As soon as I can get it, if I ever get it. I was beginning to feel that filling in this form needed a crystal-gazing apparatus... *Method of Payment?* This even more optimistically futurising question fell under five heads, starting with *Sterling Bills drawn under a credit opened by the buyer of the goods with the undermentioned bank and registered with the Bank of England on Form E.2 No....*

Well, right there I threw my hand in. A man can take just so much punishment. Here was I trying to engage in the simplest form of export imaginable—an export weighing two ounces, costing 2½d. to transport, occupying two cubic inches of shipping space, and bringing back, if sold, probably more dollars weight for weight than platinum—and *yet* I was having to waste my time working out a long irrelevant rigmarole on a buff form in duplicate. Obviously, from the difficulties being put in my way, my dollars were not wanted. Far better had I been trying to export some article sorely needed in England, instead of something the country could do without, yet which was also available for English editors if they did want it. I was just butting in.

So I put C.D.3 and 'Hiya Toots!' on the kitchen fire—where at least it helped the fuel shortage, if not the dollar shortage. As far as I was concerned it had now ceased to be of the slightest exportance.

A cat magnified 200,000 times

THE ELECTRON MICROSCOPE enables us to see things magnified up to hundreds of thousands of times. At such magnification a cat could stand astride the English Channel, its front paws in France, its hind legs in England. So great, in fact, is the power of the Electron Microscope, that scientists can now study the secrets of organisms which, hitherto, were far beyond the limits of even the best optical microscope.

To the development of such apparatus Philips have made a valuable contribution. But now, as always, they look further ahead, to even more wonderful advances in other fields of electrical development.

RADIO & TELEVISION RECEIVERS. FLUORESCENT, TUNGSTEN & DISCHARGE LAMPS & LIGHTING EQUIPMENT. COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT. INDUSTRIAL ELECTRONIC APPARATUS. HIGH FREQUENCY HEATING GENERATORS. X-RAY EQUIPMENT FOR ALL PURPOSES. ELECTRO-MEDICAL APPARATUS. ARC & RESISTANCE WELDING PLANT & ELECTRODES. MAGNETS & MAGNETIC DEVICES. SOUND AMPLIFYING INSTALLATIONS.

PHILIPS ELECTRICAL
LIMITED

CENTURY HOUSE, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.C.2

P.298H

The Inward Eye

TOM HARRISSON

'Pictures have no positive force, they are no more than suggestions; indeed their existence depends on me. I am free as I confront them.'

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE
(apropos a Gauguin Exhibition)

BEFORE the war, I went to most art shows. In the war and until recently, I could not; latterly I lived in Central Borneo, a world within a world, enclosed by great mountains and unlimited tropical jungle, the horizon of living seldom above a hundred yards. The outside world—that thing we call civilisation (motor-car, wireless, frigidaire, 57 Varieties and Atomic Professors)—was a month away over the mountains. It was strange to wander into a West End Art Gallery and find the dreary, sub-formal, long-view landscapes of Michael Ayrton as advertised. But in a smaller room at the back were pictures by Humphrey Spender; one gave me the curious thrill of recognition. Here, somehow, was the jungle language of inwardness, not altogether obsessed by façade.

Tattoo on Harrisson's arm from the book entitled Borneo Jungle *(An account of the Oxford Expedition to Sarawak) by John Ford, C. H. Hartley, Tom Harrisson, Patrick M. Synge, Edward Shackleton. Edited by Tom Harrisson*

Now I think that this inward-looking is important in art, though not necessarily a merit in 'modern' civilisation. Let me first try to examine the sources of 'primitive' inwardness, then relate it to the outwardness of Europe.

Most so-called primitive people—they are often as intelligent, human and humane as we are—follow conventional art patterns. Generally, each culture has a number of themes, constantly repeated, richly varied, and seldom representative (in our sense of the word). The types I know best are those of the Western Pacific and Borneo.

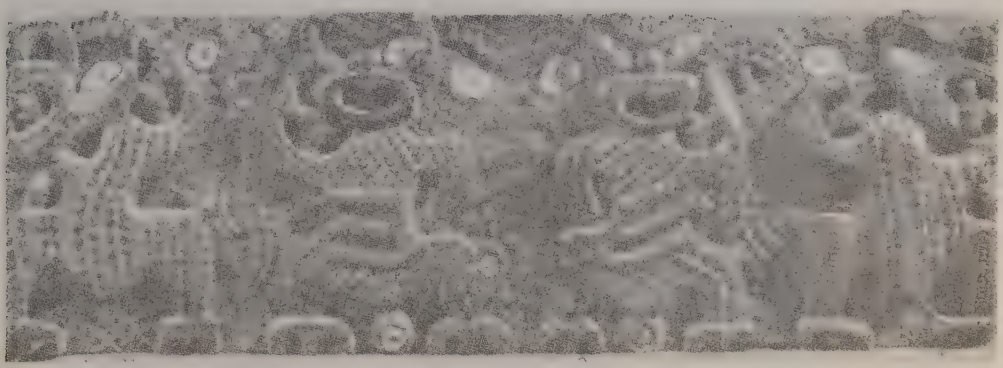
Nearly everything in the Western Pacific is decorated. Dancers even paint elaborate patterns on their own bodies. In some parts, as in the northern New Hebrides, these designs are angular; in others, as in New Zealand, curvilinear. The basic theme is so conventionalised that it is usually unrecognisable (to us) though the natives see it clearly for whatever bird, fish or face it is supposed to represent.

There have been long academic arguments on the origin of such designs, which extend over a vast area, eastward to Easter Island and north to Hawaii. Some scholars derive them from lizards' tails; others from the curved beak of the predaceous ocean-going frigate bird, so important in Polynesian ritual; others again attribute the motif to snakes or the curved pigs' tusks which Melanesians cultivate by knocking out the top front teeth of young pigs. I believe such argument is futile; behind it all is a state of mind. We in Europe have got so used to seeing paintings looking 'recognisable',

 [Continued on page 53

Mask, New Guinea

Mask, New Guinea

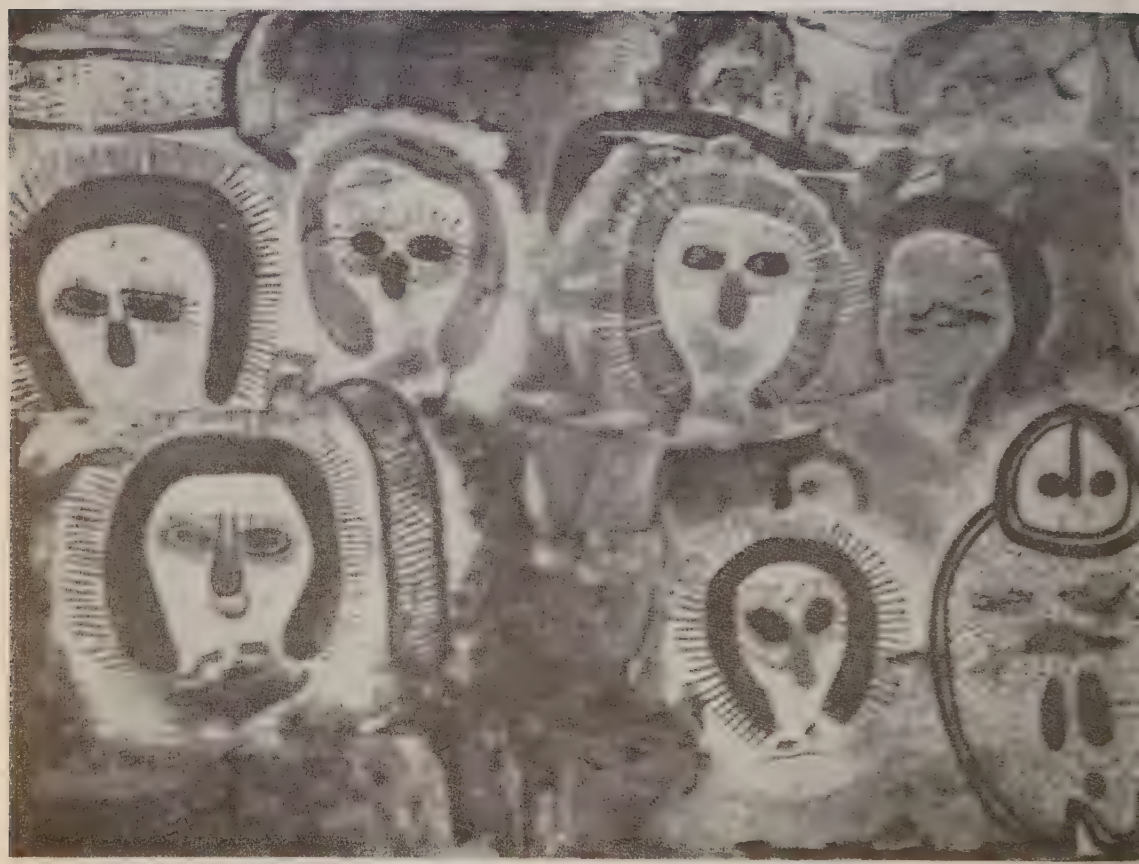


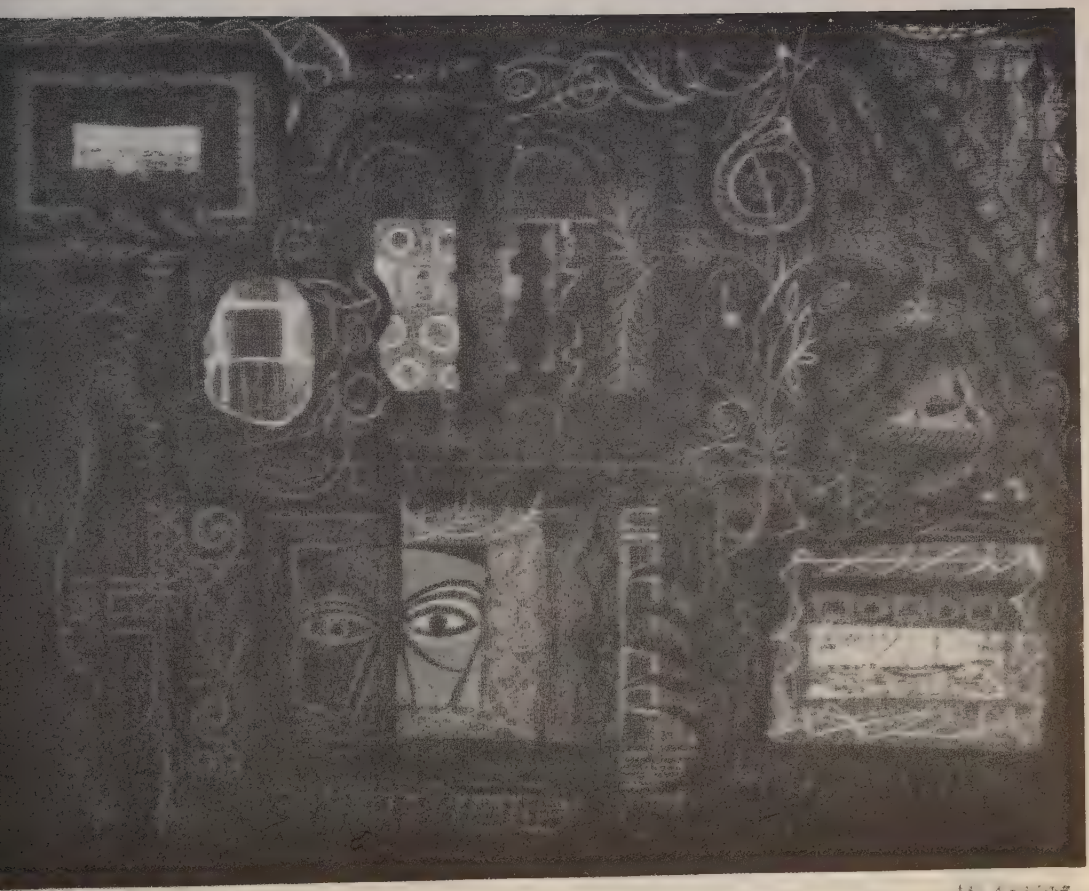
Carving, New Guinea

Mask, New Guinea

Mask, New Guinea

All the photographs on this page by kind permission of the Berkeley Galleries





Shields, New Guinea

By kind permission of the British Museum

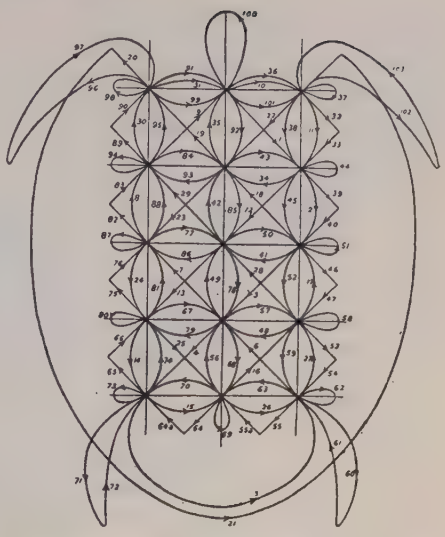
we forget *likeness lies in the beholder.* But even in our own most formal art, portraiture, cartoonists contradict academicians—so that if Herbert Morrison appears in a restaurant without his hair curled and one eye blinking in the Low manner, he is not officially recognised by the Great British Public.

A lot of peoples look at things in a more intricate way, absorbed in inter-relationships, immediacies and in insides. That is reflected all through their culture. But we, ignorant outsiders, see it only in their visual art. Look, for instance, how an islander from Omba, in the New Hebrides, draws a coconut-palm frond.

This sort of drawing, generally done on sand, is particularly illuminating, for it is associated with the journey of the spirit into the after-life. The devil, Lesevsev, guards the way to heaven (situated in a live volcano); before her are several sand-drawings, partly obliterated. The candidate for admittance is expected to fill in the gaps *exactly* in the right sequence. One of the most nearly representative shows a turtle. Even here, note the dissective intricacy; the lines have to be done in exact sequence as numbered.

Borneo Spiralism

The people of Central Borneo are remote in geography, culture, character, physique and history from those in the Pacific. Yet they show a similar passion for elaborating beyond 'recognition'. Here again, you can argue if the intertwined spirals—sometimes extremely like those in New Zealand, 6,000 miles away—derive from snakes, crocodiles, the vividly coloured hornbill casques, and so on. In fact, these people simply see, in terms of artistic expression, a whirligig world. Consider the Borneo idea of a dog. I have one tattooed on my arm. With minor modification of dots and loops, my arm design can equally and easily become crocodile, prawn, scorpion or fishing-line with hook; all are traditional tattoo marks. Nearest to representation are the prowheads of canoes; but these too are much exaggerated in symbolism.



Continuous line sand-drawing of a turtle. From Savage Civilisation

Australian Aboriginal art reflects somewhat the same basic attitude. Cave drawings from the north-east are believed by the natives to have been left as shadows by mythical heroes who then changed into serpents. The main characteristic of much Aborigine work is a boyish simplicity of basic design, elaborated by ornate conventions like the so-called 'halo' around a face. The extraordinary dissection figures are another important type of Australian art, barely indicated in the recent Australia House Exhibition. For instance, kangaroos are shown as a network of intestines and organs, accurate in conception, but dramatically emphasised in detail. This sort of Aboriginal art favours the theory of some psychologists that early art is of intestinal origin. Interesting parallels have also been drawn between Greece and some primitive conceptions. In particular, ethnologists have been attracted by the similarity between Melanesian patterns and the labyrinthine mentality which built the Maze of Knossos.

Again, I doubt the fruitfulness of such arguments beyond a certain point. Similarities may well arise from a common mentality, or a similar mental climate

A carved hornbill used for ceremonial occasions. From Borneo Jungle

rather than any direct correspondence or diffusion of culture. Much follows from limited horizons and from personal identification with the inner processes of the immediate environment; these can be carried over into tradition and ritual after that environment has disappeared.

Learning to Look Out

It is difficult for us to realise the picture limitations in outlook among other peoples. During 1945 and 1946 I was associated (quite accidentally) with enlarging the outlook of Central Borneo. Circumstances of war caused me to drop there by parachute; to build an airfield, wireless stations and hospitals; to teach the inhabitants to use the latest automatic weapons; to bring in Javanese porters, Chinese nurses, Japanese prisoners. These independent and self-supporting mountain tribes were thus quickly and crudely educated in elementary 'civilisation'. As they are clear-headed, they did not allow the experience to prostitute or vulgarise them. Nevertheless, their whole horizon of living visibly expanded.

After the war I was left behind to disarm guerrillas and rehabilitate the uplands, and I took the chance to climb the highest mountains. In earlier days I doubt if the people would have come with me; but now events had fired their interest in the outside world. On the mountain tops, my native companions escaped from centuries of jungle imprisonment, and saw for the first time the wonderful panorama of Central Borneo.

I don't know whether experience will change Borneo's outlook, which is deep-seated and of long standing. Before I left there were some indications. The children started drawing aeroplanes; the results looked *like* planes, but nearly always asymmetrical—more engines on one side than the other, wing tips curving off into spirals, etc. Among the Australian Aborigines, it has been *proved* that there can be a rapid change from 'primitive' conventions. As the Australia House catalogue says: 'In some of the remoter regions of the centre and north of Australia, Aborigines are still making paintings in the old Stone Age tradition, but at Hermannsburg, in

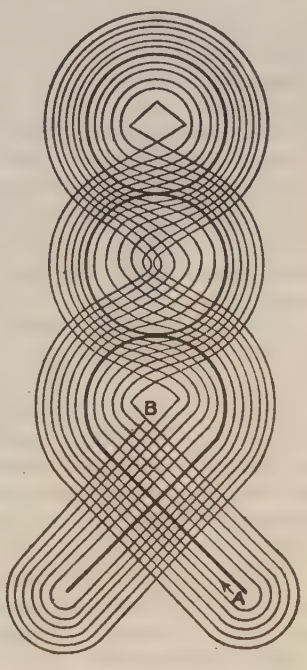
Central Australia, a group of seven Aboriginal artists are painting landscapes in the European style. This group is headed by Albert Namatjira, who learned to paint while acting as *camel-man* to the Australian artist Rex Battarbee.'

Namatjira's stilted, sub-academic daubs are very popular in Australia, where everybody is suitably impressed by the fact that an Aborigine can learn to adopt the white man's convention of square canvas, near-photographic landscape, and plenty of gum-trees—'so clever' when done by an illiterate black camel-man.

The Sceptical Squint

In recent years, European painting has learned (empirically) more about the inward eye. Our own outward experience of civilisation, the objectivity of our arts and sciences, has built up an ever-increasing scepticism about the satisfactions of 'the objectively ascertained world'. The life we once saw so clear and beautiful—or at least interesting, diverse and largely within our control—has perilously near crumbled away under the touch of microscope, encephelograph and Radar. We now can see it all only too clearly. To look so far outward strains the mind. This is one of the factors which led, before the war, to the growth of 'inward' movements like Surrealism, stressing the intellectual's confidence in *immediate* environment, understanding and experience. The same feeling is shared, less consciously but as definitely, by the hillman of Borneo or the New Hebrides, without any separation between the design of art and the design of living. Where civilised Paul Klee 'goes for a walk with a line', the Borneo headhunter takes it for a hop, a skip and a jump.

So, I look with particular interest for the inward eye today. Out of it stares up the inner conflict of our time, as well as an eternal, deep-down need in human expression—the urge to paint your heart upon your chest and dance. After all, our proud outward eye has proved oddly inadequate to accept the enlarged horizons of today. How many modern Western painters have understood other environments—which should be one test of the sensitive outlook, surely? Gauguin did, dramatically enough, the best of his stuff based on complete retreat from the horizons of Europe. As Sartre has said of the women in a familiar Gauguin: 'They looked as if they had been caught in the process of transforming themselves into objects.' Yes, indeed—he only half-bridged with his art the gulf he leaped with his life. Somerset Maugham, in his fictional biography, *The Moon and Sixpence*, saw down to the roots of this problem when he had the blind leper painting his greatest work on the walls of his hovel-hut in a lonely Tahiti valley, alive with incredible wild designs. For the matter of that, I know only one painter who has captured (in creative terms) anything like the close crowded atmosphere of jungle—Rousseau, the self-taught Customs Officer who knew almost as little about jungles as I do about excise (or art).



The frond of the coconut palm: a continuous line sand-drawing on Omba. From Savage Civilisation

A Policy for Building

What is wrong with the housing programme? A practical expert gives an analysis of the causes and cure

ERNEST MARPLES, M.P.

NEITHER the Government nor the Local Authorities can perform the actual physical operations necessary to build houses. Only the building industry itself is capable of that, and the main reason we have fallen short of our target is that the industry has been thrown out of phase. It is operating inefficiently at slow speed and at high cost.

Mr. Aneurin Bevan said on 28 July: '. . . this is a legitimate point of criticism—by the end of 1946 the housing programme was out of phase, out of balance. I accept that at once.'

Therefore the responsibility for the lack of balance is accepted by the Government. The normal, delicate, self-adjusting price mechanism was destroyed. It was replaced by the Government's rigid ideas and plans of building were enforced by physical controls over men and materials, and hefty sanctions including prison and fines. The Government control, and therefore cannot escape, responsibility. The steady rhythm and flow of the cycle of operations on building sites has been disrupted and thrown right out of gear. The main reason is that the building industry was forced to start more houses than it could possibly hope to finish. The Government insisted on Local Authorities controlling the amount of building which was commenced. Naturally the Local Authorities were anxious to impress voters, and so they commenced building more houses than could possibly be finished. They never considered whether their demands were technically feasible. Consequently, there are plenty of unfinished houses and not enough completed ones.

Unfinished houses amounted to 202,000 at the end of 1946, and had risen six months later to 242,000, and will probably be nearly 300,000 by December 1947; 91,000 new permanent dwellings were started in the six months to June 1947, but only 54,000 completed. The trend of 'spreading ourselves too thinly' continues. In any walk of life, if we attempt too much, we achieve too little. So it is with houses.

Local Authorities Too Slow

Controversy has raged over whether responsibility for housing should be given to Local Authorities or to private enterprise, and the arguments employed have shown a tendency to over-simplify.

The problem *must* be divided into two clear main parts. Careful dispassionate analysis must be brought to bear to find out which agency—Local Authorities or private enterprise—is the best agency to

1. Erect and build the houses from a *technical* point of view;
2. Allocate the houses to the person best entitled to occupy them when erected.

Whatever may be the views held on point No. 2, there is no doubt that point No. 1—the technical point—can best be met by allowing private enterprise to build.

Private enterprise has two functions to perform:

(*a*) To build for itself either for sale or letting ; and

(*b*) To build under contract for the Local Authorities;

and it is when used as (*a*) that it is really efficient. This is proved by the fact that Local Authorities take twelve months to build a house as against eight months' private enterprise.

Shortly, the main technical reason for this is as follows:

When the Local Authorities hand out a contract, it consists of hundreds of pages of rigid conditions. Now every contract without exception is varied in some way, and in order to maintain a rhythm and flow on the job itself, *quick* decisions are required—and not necessarily one hundred per cent correct ones. For example, on a recent contract the plaster which was specified in the contract was not available, but another kind was. A decision was required at once. It took six weeks to get Local Authority's permission and the work was held up. On another contract the Local Authority reserved the right to nominate its own electrical sub-contractor. The site was handed over to the main contractor; work was started, and then suspended because the Local Authority needed two months to make up their minds as to the electrical sub-contractor.

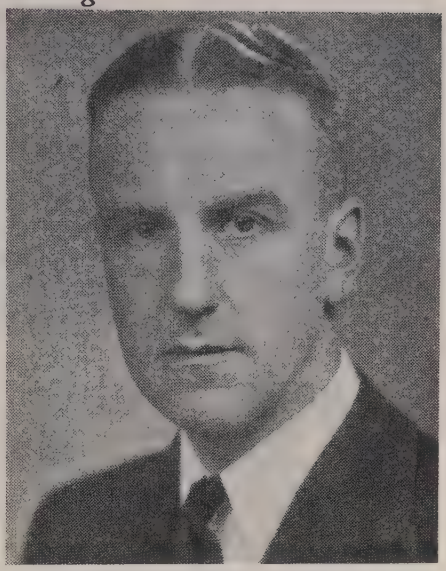
Now private enterprise avoids these delays—otherwise they would go bankrupt as they do not have the public purse behind them. *They make all the technical decisions on the spot without referring to innumerable committees.*

So, technically, private enterprise is a much superior instrument for *actually building houses.* Whether it is better for disposing of them is a matter for argument, but the two issues must not be confused. It is quite indefensible to *build* houses by the agency which is slower and more expensive.

Quicker and Cheaper!

After the First World War, when the late Sir Eric Geddes was the first Minister of Transport, *Punch* had a cartoon about the London transport problem with the following caption:

There was an old woman who lived in a shoe;
She had so many children she did not know what to do:
To get them to work and to get them to bed is
A problem too knotty for even a Geddes!



ERNEST MARPLES, *the son of a Socialist, was elected Conservative Member for Wallasey at the General Election. He became a successful builder before he was thirty*

Since then Sir Eric Geddes has died, and the problem of vehicles in London has steadily worsened. As a friend said the other day—with, I admit, pardonable exaggeration: 'Clouds of carbon monoxide darken our path wherever we go.' Every man seems to have his own pet solution, whenever the need to escape the oncoming traffic gives him time to think of solutions at all, but of all the ideas put forward one thing can be said safely: that *it is only in a judicious combination, and not singly,* that they will be the slightest use.

And what is true of the traffic problem goes also for the problem of production generally. Ideas may buzz like bees in the bonnets of Government Departments, managements and workers, each and all grinding their own particular axes, but only the synthesis of those which are valuable will bring us nearer to a solution.

I assert as a fact—*and I am a builder*—that for years now the building industry has suffered from low output and general inefficiency, though, to be fair, two qualifications of this statement should be made. First, it is a difficult industry to run and

one which has a peculiar complex of difficult problems to face—from wind and weather, as well as man in his more 'casual' shape. Secondly, let it be said that some units in the industry have done, are doing, and will no doubt continue to do, a good job of work. (Naturally, I make a favourable mental reservation in favour of my own firm!) But, when all legitimate allowance has been made, it remains a fact that other industries have outstripped it in the race for efficiency.

Practical Suggestions

It is best to concentrate, not on distributing praise and blame, but on suggesting, in the light of practical experience, what can be profitably done to improve things.

The problem has a twofold aspect. First, it is one of taking quickly and logically the actual physical steps which will increase production. Secondly—I ask you to remember Napoleon's dictum that in war the moral is to the material as three to one—the industry needs a new spirit among those engaged in it, almost a new soul.

Let us consider first the practical steps which could be taken by the three partners —the Government, the employers and the employees. These are my suggestions.

To GOVERNMENT: First, take the control of actual building operations from the Local Authorities, and let private enterprise carry out the technical operation of building. If you think it socially desirable (and perhaps politically profitable and expedient) for the Local Authorities to allocate houses for sale or letting, let them do it. But keep the Himalayan slow-moving mechanism of the committee system of Local Authorities from the delicate, quick-moving operations on a building site.

Secondly, the building industry needs a general overhaul. I speak as an employer and a Member of Parliament. Only the Government with its power and authority can give the lead. Appoint a Working Party to investigate the industry and to make two reports. The first should deal with recommendations which could be implemented immediately; the second should deal with the long-term problem and would be a more leisurely affair.

And thirdly, for heaven's sake reduce the number of forms. It can be done. In March, the Ministry of Works announced they had reduced the time taken by builders to complete certain forms by ninety-five per cent! *Then, surely, before that reduction, the Minister of Works was forcing builders to spend their time on useless form filling.* Appoint outside specialist consultants (not inside civil servants) to analyse and examine existing forms and their use. Let the report be published in full. Let the builders build, not complete forms.

To EMPLOYERS: Overhaul your technical methods of production and your methods of administration. Invite some dispassionate analytical experienced observer to report on your organisation. Bring in a breath of fresh air from the outside. On some operations men are timed by stopwatches. Try that on some of the hierarchy and analyse the results. You will be surprised. Visit the men on the site, and arrive there before they are due to arrive in the early morning. They will be surprised.

Have joint consultations on the sites and spread information. There is an appalling deadweight of ignorance at the lower levels, and ignorance is a fertile breeding-ground for agitators. Disseminate information by the use of modern, pictorial advertising methods. You must *sell* it because the average individual is too lazy to ferret it out for himself. Show them pictorially that for every £100 of the contract price £42 goes in materials, £52 in wages, five per cent in overhead expenses, half per cent in profit, and half per cent in taxes or whatever the figures are. Truth defeats the propaganda of the agitator.

Let the shareholders meet the management and let both meet labour.

To TRADE UNIONS: Read, mark and learn this sentence of St. Paul's: 'Now he that planteth and he that watereth are one: and every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour.' In other words, let the amount of wages received be dependent in some measure on the amount of output produced. There has been a bad history of relations between Capital and Labour, and men have been 'sweated' by so-called piece-work systems in the past. But are the trade unions always going to face the past while continuing to finance a political party which has climbed to power on a manifesto with the brave title 'Let us face the future'?

If men can produce the output, why be frightened of tying financial reward to output; and if you are suspicious of others' suggestions, why not be constructive and produce your own? Even Molotov at his most implacable has not said 'NO' quite as frequently as the National Union of Building Trade Operatives.

That brings the main issue. What is the proper status and position of a trade union in a modern society? The unions started for the admirable industrial purpose of using collective bargaining to obtain shorter hours, increased pay and better conditions for the men. The purpose must have been admirable because my party legalised them and won that battle years ago. But what constituted strategy and tactics fifty years ago is out of date now, whether in medicine, war, or trades union negotiations.

Are they interested in production? If so, what constructive suggestions—other than exhortation and pious hopes—have they in mind? Do they know that the London Trades Council estimate that 40,000 operatives have gone into the black market in London alone? Are the unions content to see money from the black market being paid, by way of political levy, to the Socialist Party who are governing the country?

These and other questions need answering. The problem is to change a powerful destructive trade union poacher into a powerful constructive trades union gamekeeper. Unless they mend their ways, they are now in some danger of becoming, in the old phrase, 'too great subjects'.

Psychological Problem

But all this is dwarfed by the great psychological problem. A few weeks ago on a building site, several men argued that, if the Government could pay £15 million a day for a war, it could afford to pay them their extra wage claim. That mentality will defeat the Government's production drive, and it is small consolation that the Government will have themselves largely to blame.

For a quarter of a century, the Socialists have indulged in misrepresentation about production: by this they sought power, and by this got it. John Strachey wrote: 'Hard work will not make the workers any richer, but it will make their employers much richer' in a book revised in 1944. Aneurin Bevan wrote, in 1944: 'Exports are a Will o' the Wisp.' It has taken twenty-five years of ceaseless propaganda and mud-slinging to poison the minds of the working class. It will probably need a like period to nurse them back to health if propaganda alone is relied on.

There lies the main problem. How can their attitude be changed? My guess is that harsh events and economic facts—facts as ugly as they are inescapable—will be the only potent method of 'ministering to minds diseased.' Shortages of food, clothing, coal and houses are hard teachers, but they teach quickly.

No cure can be administered until the patient wants to be cured. The cure for under-production can only be applied when the mind of man is tuned to receive it. First there must be, I fear, a spell of acute suffering.

To attain power, the Socialists conditioned people's minds to the belief that they could do less and get more. They are now frantically trying to reverse the effects of their own sophistries. What they have first to do is this—to tell truth for the sake of welfare, not lies for the sake of power.

The Nature of Television

Expense is the barrier to the spread of television. But in evolving its own technique, distinct from theatre, cinema or radio, it has exciting possibilities—and Britain has the lead

TED JONES

FEW people in Britain have ever seen television, but if you allow four or five viewers to each of the 25,000-odd sets in London and the Home Counties, you can reckon on a daily audience of more than 100,000—the largest television audience in the world!

In London alone there are approximately 12,000 sets. In New York City, where there are sites for 146 television stations, there are 7,000.

Television, meaning 'distant seeing', has pulled down the last barrier of communication. For the first time in history, we can actually be in two places at once. You can recline in an arm-chair at home and witness an event which is taking place simultaneously somewhere else.

Television has an official transmitting radius of 45 miles; it reaches as far as the horizon, to the curve of the earth as seen from the summit of the 305-foot mast which crowns Alexandra Palace—that architectural monstrosity which glowers over north London from the heights of Alexandra Park where the B.B.C. has its two television studios. Yet letters are often received from viewers who claim reception of the programmes on sets thirty miles beyond that horizon—and not sporadic reception either.

Vision, too, with 405-line pictures, has improved; so has production technique. In fact, television has reached a standard which never fails to impress those who see it for the first time.

What, then, is holding it up? The answer is—money! Television is expensive—expensive to buy; expensive to produce. It costs six times more to produce a show for television than for radio; and development on a national scale, despite the optimistic assurances of the Postmaster-General in the House of Commons, would run into millions, which neither the taxpayer nor the B.B.C. could afford.

It amounts to this: television is here and it's here to stay, but no one has really found a way of paying for it. Economically it's a dead loss because it has no box-office to maintain it; the Americans aren't even sure that it can pay its way with the backing of advertisers.

Yet there is no reason why television cannot progress technically, and as an art-form, within its present radius. In France, for instance, there are only 270 television receivers, but pictures are composed of 800 lines, and producers are going all out to improve techniques. After all, theatre audiences are small compared with the millions who go to the cinema and listen to the radio, yet they have proved an incentive to the promotion of good drama as opposed to the cinema, which has suffered as a result of commercialism pandering to mass demand.

Many of us have witnessed the whole cycle of film history. We remember the early Chaplin comedies; the vivid symbolism of 'The Cabinet of Dr. Caligarie'; but should television, for economic reasons, continue to function from one station, at Alexandra Palace, relaying programmes to only one provincial area, Birmingham, then most of us will miss its 'custard-pie'

era, for by the time that we have receivers, it will have reached a technical standard comparable, say, with the cinema of the early 'thirties.

Now what is the nature of television?

Television is often confused with the cinema and the radio; with the cinema because it is visual; with radio because programmes can be transmitted from a single point into cabinets similar to wireless sets with small screens.

Some regard television as sound broadcasting with the vision tacked on; others see it as a means by which to facilitate the distribution of films, either into cinemas or into homes, or both. If, of course, films were projected into homes, there would be a revolution in the art of film direction because directors would have to cater for small audiences; the mass reaction formula on which present-day screen technique is based would have to be scrapped. But if television were utilised merely for the projection of films, there would be no such thing as an art-form in television, because television is 'actual'.

Compare the two media. The film is a 'canned' record, either of a story or of an event. You can run it through the projector as many times as you wish. But television is an eye; it mirrors what it sees. It can't stop and run in reverse, taking a swimmer out of the water and putting him back again on the diving-board from which he has just plunged. Television has no permanency; it can only commit its record to the memory of the viewer.

The Television Producer

Again, a film is a collection of short scenes or 'takes', linked up into a coherent pattern. It is piece meal; therefore a director can switch his action from a sedate London drawing-room to the Mohave Desert, from the San Francisco water-front to the Casbah of Algiers; his canvas is enormous—and his screen measures, on an average, twenty-two feet by eighteen feet. Television screens measure ten and a half inches by eight and a half. Television is static; in television a play is a play as it is understood in the theatre. There is no fluidity as in the cinema or in radio.

RICHARD HURNDALL *and* KYNASTON REEVES *in the television production of Congreve's* 'Love for Love'

The work of the television producer does not end with the final 'take'. The film director is often in the middle of another film by the time that his last is being shown. But the television producer has to nurse his play from the first rehearsal way through to the final fade-out on the screen. He is upstairs at his control panel above the studio the whole time, editing and lining-up each picture, communicating by telephone to emitron[1] and sound crews below. He has no time to see his production as the viewers will.

It is this immobility which likens television to the theatre. Stage plays, for instance, are admirable for television because the action is confined to a few sets. 'The Dark Lady of the Sonnets', 'The Importance of Being Earnest', 'Dangerous Corner', 'St. Joan'—all have been televised with success.

A Separate Art-Form

Television is stimulating, too, for the actor because the action is continuous and not, as in films, 'sectionalised'. Yet acting for television is very different from that in the theatre; again, it demands a new technique. The depth of focus of the emitron is very shallow. Long shots require broad, animated acting, almost as exaggerated as it was in the silent films; but for close-ups it demands a high degree of subtlety because the broader theatre form looks absurd.

Now radio cannot borrow from the cinema because it is an aural medium; neither can the cinema, as a visual medium, borrow from radio. Yet television can borrow from each and continue to exist independently of both. In fact, future television technique may develop on a conglomeration of borrowed techniques, and remain unique simply because it is able to do so.

Let me show you what I mean.

Denis Johnston, ex-programme director of the B.B.C. Television Service—he wrote 'Moon in the Yellow River'—is probably the best authority on television drama in the country, and this is what he told me: 'There is no real visual action in television such as you see on the films. Television action is carried along with dialogue—as in radio!'

Now what does television borrow from the cinema? Two things. First—the reaction technique! Next time you go to the cinema notice how the camera concentrates on the reaction of the characters to the situations in the plot. The gangster, for instance, reacts to the fear of his cowering victim; then you 'cut' to the victim, who reacts to the gangster, and so on, reaction piling on reaction the whole time.

Television, by itself, as a live show, may be static, like the theatre, but it *can* obtain a certain amount of fluidity denied to the theatre—and it is obtained with film, with telecine as they call it! For John Irwin's production of 'Mr. Gladstone', the B.B.C. Film Unit took 'shots' of No. 10 Downing Street, incorporating them into the play when it was produced at Alexandra Palace. In a story, a character may have to make a journey, so instead of cutting from one scene set, say, in London, to another in Devon, the producer will insert a telecine shot of a speeding train. Thus, not only does he achieve atmosphere by lifting the play 'out' of the studio, but also the delusion of action.

When you turn out the lights and watch the screen, no bigger than a shaving-mirror, television looks just like a parlour cinema. But it is *not* a cinema; it is television, and if it is to acquire an art-form—as it will and must—then it has to experiment with and develop its own mode of production, breaking with its contemporaries and converting what it has borrowed until there emerges a technique which can be called—true television!

After World War I, America dethroned Britain as the leading film-producing country, and reigned, if not as the greatest, at least as the most prolific. Today British television, with the only daily service, is acknowledged by all its rivals as being the best in the world. It must remain just that—the best in the world!

[1] The television camera

THEY TRAVELLED

TO IRELAND THE *EASY* WAY!

★ No fuss, no queues for this family. You, too, will prefer the easy way to travel to Ireland—by air. Safe, comfortable Aer Lingus airliners speed you from London to Dublin in just 2 hours. Flying on Ireland's national airline is economical too. Only £6.10.0 single, £11.15.0 return from London, with no extras. There are 7 flights daily from Northolt Airport direct to Dublin. Fast frequent service is also available from Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow to Dublin. See any travel agent today for information and bookings.

AER LINGUS *IRISH AIRLINES*

DUBLIN · BELFAST · SHANNON · LONDON · LIVERPOOL · MANCHESTER · GLASGOW · PARIS · AMSTERDAM

The best in a day's walk

Lacock Village, Wiltshire.
(One of the properties of the National Trust.)

NUGGET BOOT POLISH

IN BLACK, BROWN & DARK BROWN. TINS 4½d., & 9d.

Supreme for Quality

N/NBP

22★

Is It Capitulation in Tunis?

LORD SALISBURY has concluded an arrangement with France with regard to Tunis which some of his own party call a capitalism. France went into Tunis swearing that she would not annex it, and that she would not interfere with international relations. No sooner did she get there than she began at once to convert Tunis into an integral part of the French Colonial Empire. By the agreement which has just been concluded, Lord Salisbury has consented to cancel the commercial treaty between this country and Tunis, so that one more obstacle has been removed which impeded a complete appropriation of Tunis by France. Some supporters of the Government wistfully express their belief that Lord Salisbury has obtained a *quid pro quo* in the shape of a freer hand in Egypt. It may be so, but the odds are heavily against it.

The Supremacy of Russia

PROFESSOR THOMAS DAVIDSON performs something like a feat in the September *Forum*. He gives a readable compendium of Russian history from the beginning down to the present day, all in the space of ten pages.

Two Centuries of Oscillation

He thus epitomises the course of events after Peter the Great:

> Since his time, the history of Russia has been an oscillatory effort to combine Oriental absolutism with Occidental constitutionalism, to find a means of making her people free without undermining the unity and strength due to despotism. The task has proved one of extreme difficulty; and it is but fair to the Tsars to say that, whatever may have been their mistakes in judgment, they have, on the whole, honestly and steadily kept it before them, going forward as far as they dared, and then shrinking back in dismay on seeing the results of their own audacity. If they have all insisted on keeping intact the autocratic power until the nation show itself capable of holding together, in undiminished strength, without it, this cannot surely be made a reproach to them. It is to this insistence that Russia owes her supremacy in Europe to-day. She is strong because she is unified by a single principle, organising and functioning with ease and rapidity; she is influential because her vast forces are wielded by a single will.

What 'the Old World Needs and Craves'

Passing to inquire what her supremacy means for the future, the Professor answers:

> That depends upon what it shall stand for. If Russia is to go on maintaining and championing despotism; if she is to ally herself with other despotisms for the suppression of all liberalism in the Old World —then her supremacy must prove the greatest possible calamity to all that civilisation means. If, on the contrary, she shall proceed cautiously along the path marked out by Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander II, and shall gradually substitute the noble, moral bond of freedom for the coarse, material one of despotism, and, in so doing, shall profit by all the rich experience of the Western nations without losing her own individuality and becoming a mere imitator —then her own supremacy will be what the Old World most needs and craves.

Four Progressive Factors

Relapse into pure Orientalism is impossible, however reactionary the young Tsar may be; equally impossible is the continuance of the present chaotic transition. By evolution or revolution cultivated Russia will acquire constitutional freedom. . . .

Whether Russia is to be blest with a liberal Tsar or not, there is no reason to fear her supremacy. If she remain coarsely despotic, it cannot last: if she become liberal, it can be only a blessing.

An Unspeakable Boon to Travellers

SIR ALGERNON WEST deserves the benediction of mankind. With all the authority attaching to his great position in the Treasury and his intimate acquaintance with the men who govern the Empire, he comes forward with a proposal to abolish that unmitigated and useless curse, the examination of travellers' luggage at Dover. He points out that 350,000 persons land in England every year at the Channel ports, all their luggage is examined by a large staff of Customs officers, with the result that no duty is collected worth speaking of. He proposes to get rid of all this worrying and costly nuisance by a very simple expedient. He suggests that:

Every passenger crossing the Channel should be furnished on embarkation with a declaration bearing a shilling stamp, which might, by arrangement, be procured at the booking office or on board the vessel. The form of it should be prepared by my very able friend the Solicitor to the Board of Customs. On this document the passenger electing to make use of it should declare that his baggage contains, or does not contain, any dutiable article. If it does it must be stated in a schedule, and he must pay the proper duty to the Customs. If there exists no liability his luggage should be labelled and allowed to be landed without any examination.

What Should be Done in India

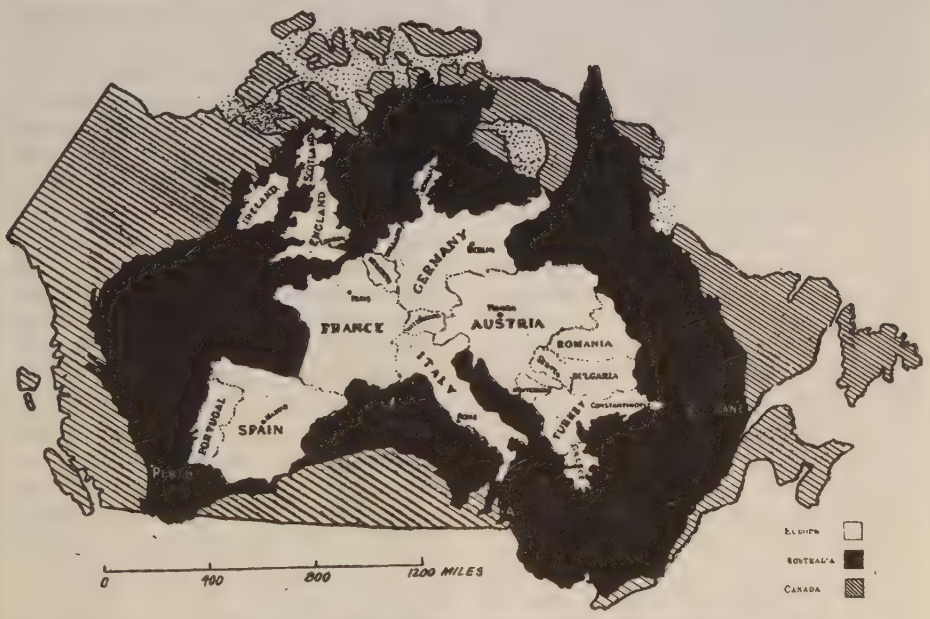
England and India (Chatto & Windus, 2s.) by Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, is a very timely book. Mr. Dutt is a native who has been in the service of the Indian Government, and who has taken a keen interest in all that concerns his native land. He endeavours in his book to give a record of progress in India during the last hundred years. But British administration has not been without its flaws, and Mr. Dutt points out some of them. He is afraid lest the progress of the past should be interrupted in the future. He thinks that the Indian administration, although undoubtedly honest and able, has made several serious blunders, which he enumerates as follows:

The worst of these blunders is its inordinate expenditure, which is impoverishing the people, and making them defenceless against droughts and famines. It will be found that the continuous increase of the State-demand from the produce of the soil, which is virtually the only means of subsistence for the mass of the people in India, is making them incapable of saving in good years, and resourceless in bad years. It will be found that the imperial policy of England in the East to secure a 'scientific frontier', and to maintain an adequate army against Russia at the cost of India, is exhausting that rich and fertile country.

Letting Woman 'Know Her Place'

MR. G. G. BUCKLER makes an attempt to sum up judicially the pros and cons of the argument concerning woman's proper function and sphere, and this is his conclusion:

Probably woman's kind in literature will always be found to be the humbler species, the lyric, and especially the hymn, letter-writing and domestic novels. In art she will do well to confine herself to the lower and no less useful branches, decoration, and the various art industries; in music and drama she must be content with being indisputably a finer interpreter than man. In teaching, philanthropy, and medicine she can take an honourable place, and in religious work (apart from the vexed question of preaching) she will be universally welcomed. In the sciences of invention and discovery, she had best not hope for great achievement, but be satisfied with a large arena of usefulness in assisting and carrying out the creations of men. For it is in this subordinate relation that women can probably find their truest and widest sphere—that of Influence.



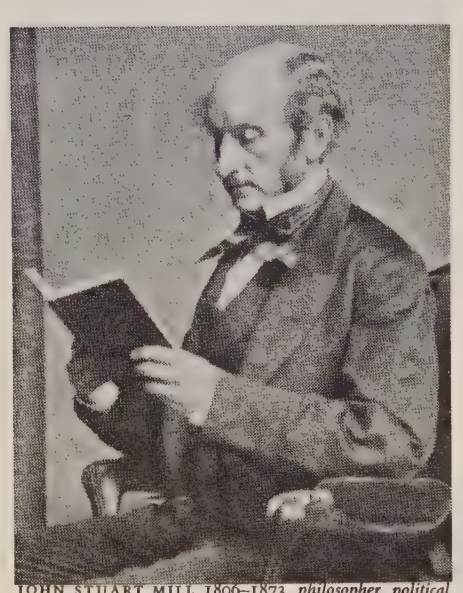
A HINT AS TO THE AREA OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Map showing comparative size of Europe (minus Russia and Scandinavia), Australia and Canada

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

By JOHN STUART MILL

REVIEWED BY C. E. M. JOAD



JOHN STUART MILL 1806–1873, *philosopher, political theorist and author of the famous essay* On Liberty

JOHN STUART MILL'S *Autobiography* is, with one possible exception, the best account known to me of a life by the man who lived it. I have read it twice throughout and return to it again and again, not only to refresh my memory but also to stimulate my mind and to revivify my faith—the former by the encouragement of Mill's intellectual example, the latter by the belief which never left him that man's life could not only be made better but made better by his own efforts.

But let me say a word, first, about the 'possible exception', which is the autobiography of Edward Gibbon. I have no space to describe it, but I want to throw into high relief the feature which it shares with that of Mill, which is also the feature that attracts me in both. These great books are in no sense of the word personal confessions; both, indeed, are singularly lacking in what the press would call 'human interest'. That is to say, while both works discourse at length on the books that their authors read, the opinions they evoked in their readers, the influence which they exerted upon their thoughts and their lives, there is very little in either about eating and drinking, about love-making and quarrelling. It would be hard to tell from either book what the author looked like, how he dressed, where he spent his holidays, what games he played. Neither book contains a hint of scandal; on the contrary, both are written in the belief that what matters in men of intellectual stature is their intellects. Now the greatest geniuses among us are, I suppose, in respect of nine-tenths of themselves, just like ordinary men and women, which is as much as to say that in respect of nine-tenths of ourselves we are all of us very much alike. Where men differ is in the more lately acquired, the more recently evolved, faculties of our species. Thus, while my reactions when starving or dying of thirst, to a beef steak or a glass of water, are almost exactly like those of a Nazi; while my response at the age of eighteen to the body of a pretty girl differs very little from that of a Hottentot, my understanding of an argument, in philosophy, or my appreciation of a Mozart quartet, is different, different and, I hope, richer.

Now, it is the respects in which men differ from one another, not the respects in

which they resemble one another, that constitute for me their interest. Hence, my addiction to the autobiographies of Mill and Gibbon, which are concerned almost exclusively with their authors' intellectual life, and which contemptuously dismiss with only the briefest reference the events which bulk so largely in the accounts of the lives of ordinary men. Witness, for example, Gibbon's famous sentence on his father's refusal to allow him to marry, 'I sighed as a lover; I obeyed as a son'; or Mill's account of his marriage, on the death of his friend, Mr. Taylor, to his friend's wife whom he had loved for years. 'Between the time of which I have now spoken and the present took place the most important events of my private life. The first of these was my marriage, in April 1851, to the lady whose incomparable worth had made her friendship the greatest source to me both of happiness and of improvement, during many years in which we never expected to be in any closer relation to one another.'

Influence of Reason

When an outburst of feeling does make its appearance in a book whose general tenor is austerely intellectual, the effect is strikingly moving. Take, for example, the following passage on the death of Mills's wife.

'I bought a cottage as close as possible to the place where she is buried, and there her daughter (my fellow-sufferer and now my chief comfort) and I live constantly during a great portion of the year. My objects in life are solely those which were hers; my pursuits and occupations those in which she shared, or sympathised, and which are indissolubly associated with her. Her memory is to me a religion, and her approbation the standard by which, summing up as it does all worthiness, I endeavour to regulate my life.'

When I read a book I make a habit of compiling a private index of the points which have specially struck me on the two or three blank pages so thoughtfully provided by publishers at the end. In my edition of Mill's *Autobiography*, published in the World's Classics, the meagre three pages provided at the end are used up after the first one hundred and twenty pages of reading. Now there are two hundred and sixty-six pages in this edition of the *Autobiography*, so that to make provision for the other points that have excited me, I have been obliged, first, to use the five blank pages at the beginning of the book and then to paste in a number of blank leaves. How am I to deal with this immense richness of intellectual material? Let me return to what I have called the revivification of faith arising from Mill's conviction of the 'improvability' of human life. This sprang from his belief that man is fundamentally reasonable, a belief which he inherited from that formidable father of his, James Mill. He describes it as follows: 'So complete was my father's reliance on the influence of reason over the minds of mankind, whenever it is allowed to reach them, that he felt as if all would be gained if the whole population were taught to read, if all sorts of opinions were allowed to be addressed to them by word and in writing and if by means of the suffrage they could nominate a legislature to give effect to the opinions they adopted.' It is a melancholy reflection that all the conditions for the arrival of the millenium specified by James Mill have now been granted. I wonder what he would think of the result! Stripped of what now seems to us its excessive optimism, what does James Mill's creed amount to? That human beings are rational in the sense that, if a belief is true and that if you argue in its favour logically enough, cogently enough, persuasively enough and patiently enough, allowing no threats to deter you, no bribes to deflect you from your advocacy, then in the end you can convince them of its truth and, further, that, being convinced, they will presently act upon their conviction. In other words, because men are rational, truth, like murder, will out. Holding this belief you will try to appeal to people's reasons when you wish to affect desirable social changes since

as John Stuart Mill puts it, 'What a man thinks determines what he does.' And so it is that Mill tells us in his *Autobiography* that what he and the other young Utilitarians principally thought of when they embarked upon their campaign for the conversion of their generation to Utilitarianism principles, 'was to alter people's opinions; to make them believe according to evidence, and know what was their real interest, which when they once knew, they would, we thought, by the instrument of opinion, enforce a regard to it upon one another.'

Mill in Parliament

This rational attitude to the problems of public life, which John Stuart Mill largely owed to his father, was successfully maintained throughout his public career, maintained even by the candidate for election to the House of Commons, the most remarkable candidate, by my reckoning, who has ever solicited the votes of electors. Invited to stand for Westminster, Mill said that he had no desire to be a Member of Parliament; that he thought candidates ought not to canvass or to incur expenses and that, if elected, he could not undertake to give time and attention to local interests. He also indicated the causes which he proposed to advocate in the House should he be returned; they included Proportional Representation which most considered impracticable, and Votes for Women which almost all considered wicked. So far as meetings were concerned, he limited himself to two or three at which he would not make speeches, but would answer questions explaining his programme. (To make political speeches, he held, would be to misuse the power of oratory and the weapon of propaganda to seduce the *reasons* of his constituents.)

All this sounded so unpromising that a contemporary wit remarked 'that the Almighty Himself would have no chance of being elected on such a programme.' Mill was elected, none the less. He made no considerable mark in the House of Commons, where he was chiefly distinguished by the moral courage with which, eschewing all considerations of political expediency, he advocated every unpopular creed and cause which could appeal to the reason or engage the sympathy of a civilised man, despite the apathy of the few or the prejudices of the many.

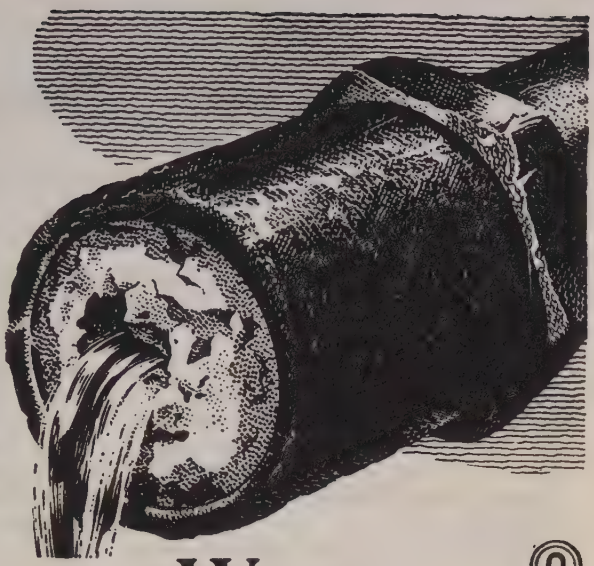
Upon me the *Autobiography* leaves three abiding impressions. First, that of moral integrity; here was a man who was as little affected by considerations of personal advantage in his advocacy of what he held to be right and reasonable as is compatible with our human condition. Secondly, that of intellectual energy and industry. The *Autobiography* is, I suppose, chiefly famous for its account of the author's astonishing education, an education which included Greek and Arithmetic at the age of three and had embraced Latin, History, Grammar, Euclid and Algebra by the age of eight. Such an education, one would have supposed, was calculated to make learning of any kind abhorrent to its victim. But it was not so; Mill was reading and writing, joining and forming societies for the study of this and that, preparing reports and getting up subjects, throughout the whole of his life, which was dedicated in an equal measure to the increasing and the outpouring of the riches of a well-stocked mind. Yet it is, perhaps, by Mill's versatility that one is chiefly impressed. In an age of specialisation we esteem the making of a reputation in any one sphere achievement enough. That a man should make a reputation in three or four is accounted among us a public outrage, pardonable only in one like Shaw, who has lived long enough to have lived down the scandal of his own versatility. Mill, a devoted servant of the India Office, was an authority on political economy. He wrote textbooks on Logic; he left an abiding mark upon political theory and his 'Essay on Liberty' constitutes what is, to my mind, at once the most eloquent and the most convincing piece of writing in the history of the subject.

The record of all this you will find in this most absorbing of books.

STOPPED— FOR REPAIRS

Water can be a major nuisance to industry for it may cause scale deposits or corrosion which reduce efficiency in heating and cooling systems or block the main supply.

The introduction of minute quantities of 'Calgon' (sodium metaphosphate) into industrial water systems is now a recognised way of preventing scale formation, corrosion, and the troubles which follow in their wake.



ALBRIGHT & WILSON LTD
CHEMICALS

T.B.W.9. CALGON, MICROMET—TRADE NAMES FOR SODIUM METAPHOSPHATE

murphy radio

LIMITED

OF WELWYN GARDEN CITY

are glad to announce that in order to cope with the great export and home demands for their products, they have recently opened a

SECOND LARGE FACTORY

at

HIRWAUN, SOUTH WALES

C.R.C.226

New Books

DEMOCRACY AND CIVILISATION

By Geraint Vaughan Jones. *Hutchinson.* 21s.

This ambitious book reviews the present world situation in the light of the whole of past history and its 'meaning'. The author finds that we live in an age critically dangerous to the future of mankind. His positive contribution is to offer certain general principles for the right ordering of society, and to set the social life of man in what religion shows to be its proper perspective.

Though there can be no conclusive interpretation of history, democracy must necessarily make its own attempt. The whole course of recent history is a judgment or nemesis on the attitude of indifference. The democratic interpretation is that history 'is the story of freedom and the expression in the lives of nations of the movement from force to persuasion.' There is no guarantee as to the outcome of the historical process; this formula describes only its proper direction.

History also records the progress of civilisation; and therefore the democratic ideas are the sole foundation of a good society. This is true, however, only of the liberal-democracy typical in recent years of north-western Europe. Social democracy, for example, the rule of the 'mass-man', tends to obstruct freedom. The state 'must not control but must be controlled.' As a corollary, unrestricted national sovereignty is outmoded; nations must be partially subordinated to an international authority.

In the last part of the work the author is concerned to show that ultimately these principles have a religious foundation. The democratic values and ideal are a translation into politics of the Christian concept of man as a free spiritual being and end in himself.

In the course of this argument the author makes several interesting suggestions, some of which are not unoriginal. The clearest proof that economic factors are not all-important is the behaviour of those dictator-states for which this is an official doctrine; their activity is largely governed by ideological forces. The richest field for democratic creativeness may be in technology and politics rather than art. The author's style is always vigorous, but it is a vigorous prolixity. Even so, the most controversial points sometimes need closer examination, especially where the general principles are applied in detail. The author claims that this is not his responsibility, but it alone can make his remarks more than high-sounding truisms.

The details leave the reader uncertain of what form of society is advocated under the name of 'liberal-democracy'. It must be an 'organic' democracy in which classes play a 'functional' part. Society must have 'form' (this technical term in philosophy is identified with a distinctive 'way of life', which must be reached through guidance by the state, and was a good feature of the Fascist states. There must be planning of economic affairs, and also 'there is need for something on the lines of a *Kulturkammer*' to regulate the artistic life of the community. That the author couples the work of Picasso and Henry Moore with swing music scarcely recommends him for membership of this body. All that is said of education is to praise the *Führerschulen*, which, in this context, from a democrat, is bewildering.

The associations are not fortunate. These generalities could be twisted by others to serve sinister ends. This results from a preoccupation with the 'meaning' and rhythm of historical movement. Thus government by consent is good because 'less likely to cause violent jerks in historical development.' Appeals to self-interest in securing peace are ultimately doomed because 'in opposition to the law of life'. Again, 'the only reason for wanting to live, ultimately, is our belief in a rational universe.' This outlook must, sooner or later, prove anti-individualist and anti-democratic.

Evil in history is recognised, but it is for the author an act of faith that the good is the essential nature of the creation, and the evil

merely the 'irruption' of 'demonic' forces. His philosophy of history attempts to combine a conviction of the rationality of the temporal process of history with a conviction that ultimately what is Behind the Veil will supplant the temporal dream. The fulfilment of history, we are told, will not be in Time; if not, the sense in which history is rational and has 'meaning' is obscure. A Hegelian philosophy of history, and a New Testament philosophy as interpreted here, are direct contradictories.

This central contradiction greatly weakens the presentation of a world picture offered as a gift of Faith. Moreover, this world-picture is supported chiefly by appeals to the authority of writers whose thought is congenial to the author. Berdyaev, Ortega y Gasset, Toynbee, Unamuno, Tillich, Brunner and others are constantly quoted as if this were sufficient to clinch the argument. Nothing, unfortunately, proves further from the truth.

This book is published with a slip which reads '£10,000 United Nations Literary Competition Selection'. It would be interesting to have full details of the award.

JOHN HOLLOWAY

DEMOCRACY AND THE ARTS

By Rupert Brooke. *Rupert Hart-Davies.* 6s.

Congratulations are due to a new publishing firm for rescuing this remarkable essay from oblivion.

Written in 1910 and delivered as a lecture to the Cambridge Fabians, it came, after the poet's death, into the hands of Mr. Geoffrey Keynes and has since lain 'more or less unregarded' in the latter's library. To the comfortable Edwardian society of Rupert Brooke's day, the problem of the artist under Socialism must have seemed remote and academic; but two world wars have hastened the process of democratisation and the levelling-down of incomes which the poet and his Fabian friends foresaw as the inevitable and desirable outcome of twentieth-century social development.

Brooke had the intelligence and foresight to realise that such a situation would profoundly affect the position of the artist—that through the elimination of the unearned income and the rich patronage upon which the majority of writers, painters and musicians had hitherto been dependent, the arts would be dealt a severe blow. There was, he admitted, a certain justification for the argument of the average anti-democrat—'the refined, vague, upper-class person', or the critic, 'black-whiskered and perplexed and in earnest'—that democratic social reform would mean the end of art. It was no good reiterating airily Whistler's remark: 'Art? Oh, Art—*happens*!'—that simply wouldn't do. In the brave new world which the Fabians were helping to mould, art would have to be provided for in the same way as everything else.

'I'm not your sort of Socialist; I'm a William Morris sort of Socialist,' Brooke is reputed to have said to Hugh Dalton on applying to become an associate member of the Cambridge University Fabian Society, of which Dalton was then Honorary Secretary. But by the time he came to write this essay, he seems to have repudiated Morris's archaic notions—in particular the idea that art should be a part-time job and that poetry ought to be composed by the craftsman working at his loom.

Brooke was no believer in collective art: 'Let us beware of those who talk of "the art of the people" or of expressing the soul of the community. The community hasn't got a soul; you can't voice the soul of the community any more than you can blow its nose.' No, art was essentially 'an individual and unique affair', and the problem under Socialism would be to ensure that those individuals with the necessary talents and vocation were given the opportunity and the leisure to pursue their art-work.

For Brooke, the only solution was direct State endowment. It would, he admitted, be a wasteful system, but no more so than the old one—and it was worth endowing twenty 'Tuppers' to produce one Byron. Selection would be by committees—an idea which hardly commends itself to our more sceptical eyes. Indeed, many of Rupert Brooke's practical proposals suffer from the over-sanguine enthusiasm of the young pioneer Socialist. Yet his essay is full of sound common sense and intelligent criticism, and the problem he raised with such far-seeing discernment twenty-five years ago is one which cannot be ignored today.

TERENCE KILMARTIN

FACTS

and

PLACES

LINKING FACTS WITH PLACES is Serial Maps' job. In line and tone, in colour and monochrome, in map and text, it provides a monthly world affairs atlas in magazine form. For eight years subscribers to Serial Maps have had map and text references to all current events. An annual subscription costs but 35s. posted home. If you would like to have details, send a postcard (mentioning this Journal) for specimen and prospectus to:

SERIAL MAPS

38 WILLIAM IV ST. *by* CHARING CROSS, LONDON

Reprint now ready:

WHO'S WHO IN THE THEATRE

The Tenth Edition of John Parker's great reference work, published in July this year—the first new edition for seven years—was sold out even before publication. All theatregoers who were unable to obtain copies will welcome this reprint.

The Tenth Edition is the biggest, most comprehensive edition yet published. Every feature has been brought up to date. Over 3,000 biographies, complete London playbills since 1939, details of long runs, the invaluable Theatrical Calendar, genealogical trees—all the familiar features, and a new one, appear in the Tenth Edition. Sturdily bound in cloth, with over 2,000 pages of information, this is a book you should not lightly forgo.

60/- *net*

PITMAN, Parker St., Kingsway, London, W.C.2

ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE — Clifford Bax

Clifford Bax introduces a gallery of 52 portraits of the leading members of the British stage in character and costume. *10s. 6d.*

THE LAKES

G. S. Sandilands and Professor E. W. Tristram

An anthology of the landscape, life and literature of one of the most fascinating parts of England. Professor Tristram contributes delightful water colours, finely reproduced. *Illustrated* *15s.*

THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY

R. A. Scott-James

A study of the literary, political and social life of the thirties, when the author was editor of the *London Mercury*. *10s. 6d.*

FREDERICK MULLER

The Civil Service in The Changing State

H. R. G. GREAVES

Today, more than ever before, Britain's influence in world affairs depends on her own internal organisation. The study of the Civil Service becomes increasingly important as nationalisation is extended. H. R. G. Greaves, lecturer in Economics at London University and one of the greatest authorities on the subject, gives here a detailed survey of the Civil Service's development till now and its probable future course. 10s. 6d. *net*

HARRAP

THE ARTS AND SOCIALISM
By J. B. Priestley. *Turnstile Press.* 1s.

That the arts are more likely to flourish in a Socialist than in a Capitalist society has been one of the planks of Left-Wing propagandists. It is true that some doubts were expressed about the danger of State interference with the artist; but we never heard complaints from Right or Left that a Government of the Left would be guilty of a neglect of those activities which give life meaning. Yet that is the burden of Mr. Priestley's complaint in this stimulating blend of force and persuasiveness.

The commonest mistake about art, he says, is to assume that it is like the icing on a cake; and politicians take to this error as a duck takes to water. But art is more like the yeast in the dough, permeating and then aerating and lifting the doughy stuff of life. Therefore a Socialist State ought to cherish its artists.

But if there is one belief that all artists have in common, it is a belief in the uniqueness of the individual—particularly when the individual is an artist. This makes the artist somewhat fearful of levelling forces, even while intellectually he may be in sympathy with them. Mr. Priestley deals at some length with this paradox, and pleads for a tolerant and generous attitude towards the artist on the part of the State.

The first half of this pamphlet is the text of a lecture delivered to the Fabian Society. To this Mr. Priestley has added an appendix devoted to immediately practical matters:

> UNESCO is conducting an enquiry into the manufacture and distribution of artists' materials: the Government and its Board of Trade should take a live interest in this.
>
> The control of building is at present necessary; but it is short-sighted to control building if the use of existing buildings is left without direction. It should not be possible for concert halls and theatres to be turned into dance-halls and cinemas.
>
> The Coalition Government applied paper restrictions in such a way that reputable publishers suffered. The present Government has done nothing to make things easier. If they have a real interest in the cultural life of this country, the statesmen now in power should clear away the obstacles which hamper the activities of the more reputable publishers.

The Fabian Society is perhaps no longer the solar plexus of the Labour movement, but it was an effective place in which to plant this blow for artistic freedom. HUNTER DIACK

Published on behalf of
The United Nations Association

THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION YEARBOOK 1947

- Contains vital information on the 55 countries of the United Nations
- Full details of the aims of the United Nations Association
- The texts of some of the most important international and regional agreements
- Many special statements by important ministers on Governmental and United Nations policy

The Official Year-Book of U.N.A.

Just published 25/- *net*

YOUR WORLD TO-MORROW

PROFESSOR A. M. LOW

This intensely interesting book should be read by everybody interested in the fact that War has advanced scientific discovery and production by twenty-five years

15 illustrations 16/- *net*

HUTCHINSON
& Co. (Publishers) Ltd.
LARGEST OF BOOK PUBLISHERS

DEMOCRACY LIMITED

By John Winter. *Heath Cranton.* 9s. 6d.

To the minds of most Britons the things which distinguish us from other nations are not merely differences of speech or mode of living, or even religious beliefs, but intangible conceptions. Our household gods, which we have named 'Liberty' and 'Democracy', are not personified deities, but rather are they two distinct ideas conceived in so many different shapes according to the position occupied in the social strata by the worshippers. This being so, it is not surprising if sometimes one is elevated above the other, and that sometimes they almost come to blows, so that as a consequence of this see-sawing people get them hopelessly mixed up.

In order to attempt to understand the varying conceptions of what is liberty and what is democracy—ideals to which we all pay lip-service, no one can do better than read John Winter's tale of the British fight for freedom.

It is a decidedly challenging and disturbing book, written as a continuous story in a most readable style, in which the author draws a clear picture of the choice which lies before us. As he sees it, we have the option either to take an intelligent interest in the ordering of our own affairs, and thus preserve legitimate and social liberty, or else to adopt the lazy way and hand over control of ourselves to an army of bureaucrats with the hope that the official mind will be both considerate and understanding. The former is to follow the way of controlled individualism, which is essentially democratic, whereas to allow such a complete state supremacy, no matter by what soft-sounding 'ism' it may be styled, is the absolute negation of democracy and the end of all personal liberty. It is an absorbing book of topical interest which should certainly not be missed.

E. VAUGHAN

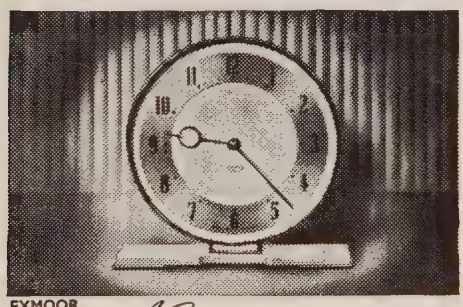
A NATION OF SHOPKEEPERS?

By Tom S. Rothwell. *Herbert Joseph.* 5s.

Would Napoleon still say that Britain is a nation of shopkeepers, or would it rather be now a nation of shop-assistants? This is precisely the theme of this book by the Vice-President of the Independent Traders' Alliance. The writer is in favour of the small independent shops—some estimate them at about 650,000. He emphasises the many particular services which the small specialised shop renders to the shopper, but he very cautiously and wisely adds that he refuses to hold a brief for any who are not prepared to exert themselves to the utmost of their capacity in an effort continually to improve the quality of their service.

But unfortunately small shopkeepers in many cases seem to have a dual personality: on the one hand they proclaim a desire for what they call freedom from big business, for instance, from the constant extension of department stores or the co-ops. or the chains, which they wrongly consider as 'monopolising' retail distribution; on the other hand, they are grouped, in several hundred thousands, in retail trade associations which have such restrictive aims as price fixing, price maintenance and the restriction of free entrance to trade by qualification tests or even registration and licensing. The author is fortunately well aware of this, but he does not think it necessary to supply a really critical analysis of this dualism. One of the most interesting chapters is that on 'Town Planning and Shops'. He rightly regrets that this matter has been treated with great virtuosity by surveyors, architects and draughtsmen, but that economists and sociologists have earned here less tribute because, perhaps, they are too much separated from 'the poor homes and little shops'. Altogether this plea for the small shopkeeper ought to attract attention in many quarters.

HERMANN LEVY



W. H. Elliott's

Sensational New Book

Hell be thy Portion

A scathing indictment of modern civilisation, with its worshipping of idols, its false values, its materialism, its cynical contempt for ideals that are not 'practical' and its lack of religious faith, by the famous author and preacher, W.H. Elliott.

Cr. 8vo. 8*s. 6d. net.*

Frank Foster

Comrades in Bondage

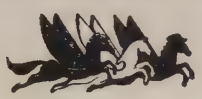
Foreword by FIELD-MARSHAL
LORD BIRDWOOD
G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., etc.

A thrilling, illustrated, eye-witness story of a newspaper man a prisoner of war in Japanese hands for three years. The island of Java forms the background for the opening scenes of exciting experiences with Indonesians in jungle-covered mountains.

22 *illustrations.* *Cr. 8vo.* 9*s. 6d. net.*

NOW ON SALE

Skeffington & Son Ltd.



DOBSON

T. S. Eliot

A study of his writings by several hands

edited by B. RAJAN

This book is intended chiefly to serve as a reasonably detailed introduction to his poetry. In accordance with the trend of interest today in Mr. Eliot's poetry, most space has been devoted to an article on the *Quartets*, but there are also studies of *Ash Wednesday*, *Gerontion* and *The Waste Land*. 7*s* 6*d net*

Verdi

FERRUCCIO BONAVIA

Mr. Bonavia's picture of the composer is round and complete, and in addition to a shrewd assessment of Verdi's place in music we are now given some insight into the working of his mind and know his opinion of men and events.

Illustrated 8*s* 6*d net*

Current book list on request from Dennis Dobson Ltd, 12 Park Place, St James Street, London SW1

6s.
PER
COPY

Future

THE NEW BRITISH MAGAZINE
Second Issue available shortly

Subscription for 6 Issues
34s. POST PAID

Ask your Newsagent or Bookseller for further details or write to

Future
51A Rathbone Place, London, W.1

NEW ZEALAND

After Five Wars

by

A. J. HARROP

The author, a New Zealander possessing an intimate knowledge of his country and people, recounts New Zealand's history from the earliest beginnings, surveys its great achievements in war and peace, and reviews its present conditions and future prospects.

Just Published 21/-

Fully Illustrated

JARROLDS

Publishers (London) Ltd

Recent Fiction

Gabriel Chevallier

SAINTE COLLINE

3rd Ed. now available 10s. 6d. net

Alberto Moravia

AGOSTINO

7s. 6d. net

Harry Murton Webb

INSH'ALLAH

Book Society Recommendation 8s. 6d. net

Olaf Stapledon

THE FLAMES

6s. net

SECKER & WARBURG

CHI-CHI

by KENNETH HEMINGWAY

Author of "Shop 7", "Fidelity?" etc.

8s. 6d. net

A very powerful novel which has for its background an unsettled but very human problem in India.

The fate of the Anglo-Indian girl or "chi-chi" before the war was without exception commonplace, dreary and well-nigh hopeless. Now she is to be left to continue her struggle alone against a fate which is pitiable in the extreme.

A novel of romance, drama and stark tragedy with a humanitarian question for both the Indians and the British.

Quality Press, Ltd. Publishers

18 Adam St. Adelphi W.C.2

THE PARADOX OF NATIONALISM

By Julius Braunthal

Introduction by Leonard Woolf

Cloth, 5/- net

"Wide reading and concentrated thought have gone to its making . . . a searching and thought-compelling book." — *East Anglian Daily Times.*

THE BIG 2½?

By Licinius

Cloth, 5/- net

"It must be credited with giving a candid and sincere though purely Socialist view of the present overwhelming difficulties in international relations . . . The author's cure is austere, stressing the present condition of crisis, but it strikes to the root and is logical from the beginning to the very end."—*Central European Observer.*

St. Botolph Publishing Co. Ltd.
7 Noel Street, London, W.1

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

provide authoritative information on the topics of the day. Much of the information is not to be found elsewhere.

¶ *Hansard*

A weekly edition of the House of Lords Debates will be available from the commencement of the 1947–48 session. Annual subscription £2 (with Index £2 10s.)

¶ *Working Party Reports*

Industries examined in detail.
Latest Reports—LACE, 3s. 6d. (3s. 9d.)
Others at the same price—COTTON; WOOL; HOSIERY; FURNITURE; HEAVY CLOTHING; BOOTS AND SHOES.

¶ *Building*

Third Report of the Apprenticeship and Training Council, 1s. (1s. 2d.)
Stresses the need for regular recruitment and sound training.

¶ *Periodicals*

A list of subscription rates to Government Periodicals is now available. Ask for List No. 28 (gratis).

Prices in brackets include postage.

H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE

YORK HOUSE, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C.2 (POST ORDERS P.O.B. 569, LONDON, S.E.1); 13a, CASTLE ST., EDINBURGH, 2; 39–41 KING ST., MANCHESTER, 2; 1 ST. ANDREW'S CRESCENT, CARDIFF; TOWER LANE, BRISTOL, 1; 80 CHICHESTER ST., BELFAST; or through any Bookseller.

WORLD OFF DUTY

By various authors. *Contact Publications Ltd.* 5s.

This is the sixth book in the Contact International Series and an improvement on its predecessors. It is a miscellany of some thirty articles, many of them dealing with the general theme of holidays, travel and the use of leisure. Documentary reports alternate with essays by distinguished men of letters, and there are plenty of statistics, drawings and photographs—many in colour.

Mr. Mark Abrams provides statistics about the money spent in Britain on cinemas, dance halls, reading, sport and gambling, and Mass-Observation gives us anecdotes and general remarks about the special Saturday behaviour of the populace. There is an interesting account by Gerard Fay of the range of activities of Thomas Cook & Son with some surprising speculations about the firm's possible future. The film industry, with special reference to the Quota, is surveyed by several of its bosses, and Nigel Nicolson mixes facts, figures, and invective in dealing with the British Tourist trade.

Essays by Salvador de Madariaga and V. Sackville-West prove to be faint pieces of belles-lettresism, and a travel talk by Osbert Lancaster and a nightmare by Alan Moorehead are disappointingly thin stuff. Nor does C. M. Bowra take us very far with his essay on Mayakovsky.

The best job in the book is a sober but stimulating sketch of 'Thirty Years of Soviet Russia' by I. Deutscher. The topic is, of course, impossible, but Mr. Deutscher keeps his head and makes us use ours. I was also impressed by Arturo Barea's survey of Spanish literature in the last forty years.

An 'Anatomy of Fashion' by Maitland Pendock, and a well-illustrated study of Design in Finland by Enid Marx and Margaret Lambert are also very good.

Although the layout of individual pages in the book is often excellent, its general presentation makes difficult reading. Some of the illustrations are more aesthetic than explanatory, and there are too many 'inset' photographs and even boxed articles to break the attention in the middle of fairly difficult and consecutive writing.

But the book is a very good five-bob's worth.

FREDERICK LAWS

Obtainable Again

KRAVCHENKO'S

I CHOSE FREEDOM

The County Books

SURREY

ERIC PARKER

The second volume in this series is by a scholar-naturalist who has spent his whole life in the county.
Fully Illustrated 15/- net

ROBERT HALE

Dame Margaret

The Life Story of his Mother

VISCOUNT GWYNNED

(EARL LLOYD GEORGE)

● This is, in the author's words, a humble tribute from her first-born to the greatest, most lovable, most humorous woman whom he had ever met. The tribute derives a particular personal charm and flavour because of this informality, and also from the fact that the author and his mother were such close companions.

The final impression is of a lively portrayal of a radiant and beautiful character, a lover of simplicity unspoiled by long contact with public life, passionately fond of her own country, a queen among women.

Illustrated 12s. 6d. *net*

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD

SELL YOUR FIRST STORY

Panel of Authors & Editors Seek New Talent

APPLICATIONS are invited from men and women of all ages to enter the profession of authorship, under the guidance of a panel of modern successful authors and editors formed to encourage and to direct new writers. All applicants must possess the urge to write and be prepared to devote at least a few hours of spare time a week to the successful new methods laid down by the panel of authors and editors.

7 SPECIALISTS ADVISE

1—Author of 1000 short stories. 2—Editor of a best-selling woman's magazine. 3—A prolific Writer of serials in famous English journals. 4—The Writer of over a million words about Bessie Bunter. 5—Regular Contributor to all the best-selling Juvenile periodicals. 6—Feature Editor of Sunday Newspaper. 7—Sub-Editor of National Daily.

The creative instinct is of all things in life the most worthy of development and expression. There are many folk with the gift to see and record life in the routine around them, with natures sensitive to the humour, pathos and excitement of their experience, who with correct guidance quickly could be expressing themselves in well-paid articles and stories and, perhaps, making for themselves a lasting name in the world of letters.

The Need for Direction

The shortage of English fiction is so great that American stories are invading the English markets. Now is the opportunity for the new writer. New publications are springing up. Anyone with a gift for expression may learn to use that gift and be paid for doing so. The Fleet Street School of Authorship Ltd., has been formed by authors who learned their lesson from experience. They know that a writer must earn while he is learning, as they did themselves.

A Source of Income

The new Course is a 'Course of Income'. From the early lessons it aims to produce saleable work and introduce the writer to his market.

How to Apply

All who feel their talent justifies the effort should apply for 'The Prospects for Authorship', sent under plain sealed cover, without obligation. Write to The Fleet Street School of Authorship Limited (Desk G19), 45 Chancery Lane, Fleet Street, London W.C.2. (Stamp for reply postage appreciated.)

Books Received

APULEIUS, Lucius. THE GOLDEN ASSE. *John Westhouse.* 10s. 6d.

With an Introduction by Denis Saurat and drawings by Brian Robb.

ATTHILL, Robin. IF PITY DEPARTS. *Andrew Dakers.* 5s. *Poems.*

BAKER, Frank. EMBERS. *Dakers.* 7s. 6d.

This novel is the story of the twilight of an old eccentric, Thomas Trevelyan Embers, who lives alone in an abandoned cricket pavilion befriended by his patron, Judge Noel Pennington. Across the last weeks of his last winter falls the shadow of an old love and the music of a young composer who loves him.

BELLAMY, H. S. BUILT BEFORE THE FLOOD. The Problem of the Tiahuanaco Ruins. *Faber & Faber.* 21s.

New, revised and augmented edition. This book seeks to prove that the ancient sculptures of Tiahuanaco, in the Bolivian Andes, were made before Noah's flood.

BLAKE, William. SELECTED POEMS. *John Westhouse.* 12s. 6d.

With an Introduction by Denis Saurat.

CALDWELL, Erskine. GEORGIA BOY. *The Falcon Press.* 6s.

A tale of boyhood woven from memory and fancy by the author of Tobacco Road.

CATHEDRAL BOOKS No. 1—ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. *Lund Humphries.* 3s. 6d.

With an Introduction by Margaret Whinney and 28 illustrations.

The first of a series of monographs on England's great churches—from Durham, which represents the accretion of the best work of centuries, to St. Paul's, the achievement of one man's mind. Under the general editorship of Paul Wengraf, the Cathedral Books are intended to provide the visitor on the spot with a comprehensive and reliable survey. To those interested in history and art they will offer a gradually extending library of monographs interpreting and illustrating our ecclesiastical architecture.

FITT, Mary. A FINE AND PRIVATE PLACE. *Macdonald.* 8s. 6d.

Treasure trove, the theft of ancient silver, sudden death in a country house, and a family vault, are all part and parcel of this novel. The title is taken from Andrew Marvell's sinister line of verse, 'The Grave's a fine and private place.'

FITZGERALD, F. Scott. THE CRACK-UP. *The Falcon Press.* 17s. 6d.

This American author died in his prime and wrote no autobiography, but the pieces in this volume—assembled by his friend, Edmund Wilson—make an autobiographical sequence which put on record his state of mind and his point of view during the years of his maturity. A New Directions Book.

HILLE, Edric A. SWEDISH LIFE AND LANDSCAPE. *Paul Elek.* 12s. 6d.

The author contrives to touch on almost every aspect of Swedish life and landscape—from prefabricated 'build-it-yourself' houses, the deadly uniformity of hotel rooms, winter sports, restaurants and the lack of gallantry shown to women, to the preoccupation with steel and education and characteristic attitudes to past history and future development. The book is profusely illustrated.

HOWELLS, William. MANKIND SO FAR. *Sigma Books Ltd.* 16s.

The story of man in all the stages of his development by one of America's outstanding anthropologists.

Fully illustrated with drawings and photographs.

REID, Alexander. STEPS TO A VIEWPOINT. *Andrew Dakers.* 5s. *Poems.*

REISCHAUER, Edwin O. JAPAN PAST AND PRESENT. *Duckworth.* 8s. 6d.

A brief, interpretative history of Japan from earliest to modern times, emphasising the political and social institutions of the past that have shaped the present Japan. The author is Associate Professor of Far Eastern Languages at Harvard University.

SEMMLER, Rudolf. GOEBBELS—THE MAN NEXT TO HITLER. *John Westhouse.* 9s. 6d.

Dr. Rudolf Semmler—personal assistant to Dr. Goebbels—smuggled his diary out of the capital just before the final Russian advance. It is one of the few personal documents about the Nazi leaders which has survived the German collapse, and it brings first-hand news and views of Goebbels and his propaganda machine, and of the members of the Nazi clique who came so near to dominating the world.

WEBB, Harry Murton. INSH'ALLAH. *Secker & Warburg.* 8s. 6d.

A first novel which deals with an Arab boy growing up in Palestine in the troubled years before the war. 'Insh'allah' is an Arabic phrase meaning 'If Allah wills'. Recommended by the Book Society.

WHEATLEY, Dennis. THE LAUNCHING OF ROGER BROOK. *Hutchinson.* 12s. 6d.

This well-known author's first venture into historical romance. The scene is the England of George III and the France of Marie Antoinette.

WILLIAMSON, G. Scott and PEARSE, I. H. BIOLOGISTS IN SEARCH OF MATERIAL. *Faber & Faber.* 5s.

The report of the first eighteen months' work and findings of the internationally famous Peckham Experiment, which is once again in action after a forced lapse during the war years. New and revised edition.

Progress against Pain

¶ Some of the oldest prescriptions known to medical science were engraved upon pillars of stone by the Egyptians, about the seventeenth century B.C. From these prescriptions no physician was allowed to deviate, upon pain of being held responsible if the patient died.

¶ It took many years for medical science to realise that knowledge is not static but progressive.

¶ One recent discovery, for instance, is that a small quantity of a powerful drug will do the work of a large dose if it is backed up by the right combination of other drugs.

¶ A direct outcome of that discovery is 'Cogene', a scientific combination, in tablet form, of four separate drugs, three being pain relievers and the fourth a stimulant. Because a minute quantity only of each is present, there can be none of the harmful after-effects that might attend the taking of a larger dose; yet the combination of all four in scientifically balanced proportions is so effective that 'Cogene' will 'reach' the most harassing nerve pain more rapidly than could any single drug. Supplies are limited, but your chemist will see you get *your* share. Price 1/1½d. a tube.

COGENE

Regd. Trade Mark — Brand Tablets

A 'GENATOSAN' Product

I'm sure of a fair deal from *my own* shop!

She's a co-operator, of course! By shopping at a British Co-operative Store she shares the benefits with the 9,000,000 men and women who are equal owners.

Last year co-operators received £35,000,000 in dividend from *their own* shops.

These 9,000,000 members have a vote and a voice in local co-operative affairs. They elect co-operative management committees from their own number. That's democracy in business! It makes for fair shares all round!

Issued by the
CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD

CORRESPONDENCE

A-Rowsed!

from: A. J. Maker, Alderman for the Borough of Reading

Sir,—The article 'Thinking Aloud: The Gospel of Work', by A. L. Rowse, should be broadcast through the length and breadth of the country.

It is the most sensible article I have read for many a long day, and if it is possible to reprint and distribute in tens of thousands you would be doing this country a service beyond compare.

My business is only a small one, yet I would willingly contribute £5 toward the cost.

Please see what you can do for our country's sake.

from: Walter E. Jones, Hoole, Chester

Sir,—May I thank you for your direct, outspoken article by Mr. Rowse. It is unpalatable and, like most unpalatable things, people will find it hard to swallow.

I have never seen any reference in any article on education and the school leaving age to the hoax that has been played on the public—Mr. Rowse's own argument from the economic angle seems to indicate he may have overlooked it. The truth is that the children who are now to be kept at school until they are fifteen will receive no more hours of tuition than before the passing of the new Education Act. The holidays of elementary schools never exceeded eight weeks and the elementary children in 1945 now get three or four weeks more holidays than they did. This surely means that a child of five years of age will lose at least forty school weeks from his fifth to fifteenth year more than he would have lost but for the Act and even when the school leaving age is raised to sixteen the gain will not be two years longer school life—it will only be one year.

Plain Speaking

from: A Reader, Tonbridge, Kent

Sir,—Mr. A. L. Rowse contradicts himself upon Education, and is too close to a 'class' to see our problem clearly. I belong to no political party, and no class, having been reared abroad where people wearied of such things long ago.

Mr. Rowse says talent is not provided for by keeping everybody at school until fifteen, and yet says previously 'many people don't begin to develop until their school years are over'! It is true, as he says, in thousands of cases it is a complete waste, but he thereby begs three questions: 1. How can you tell which ones are waste? 2. How can you get education for the slow starters after school years are over? 3. How does he know our school curricula are not to blame as much as the pupils for the poor results?

His use of the word 'drudgery' is stupid. Most professional men, such as I happen to be, find their studies, revisions, and preparations delightful in the extreme. Scientists will go to any limits to help other scientists in pursuits which Mr. Rowse calls 'drudgery'.

The reason the present 'working class' work less for themselves than they did for their owner-bosses a half-century ago is due to the false doctrine of 'leisure' preached by press and pulpit. It has now reached a degree of absurdity.

The average Anglo-Saxon is lazy and would just as soon live by his wits as by honest endeavour. He is ready, open-mouthed, to swallow any clichés, any slogans, any catchwords that salve his guilty conscience about his distaste for work. Consequently, things like 'must have a change, you know'; 'all work and no play . . .'; 'got to have relaxation'; 'all the better for a couple of weeks at the seaside', and hundreds like them, are considered oracular.

Britain was a great nation until its people started to slack off, and the workers began to ape the lazy classes above them. True, their working conditions, and housing, were bad, but they could have changed these things without setting up the new God of Leisure.

Precious days of home leave from Singapore! Today, forty-eight of them can be spent at home—instead of being expended on getting there and back. For B.O.A.C. brings Singapore within two days of home by landplane or five and a half by flying boat. Two days to Singapore — 2½ to Australia — 1½ to India—one to West Africa. The world that the Speedbirds cross today is a world in which none need ever feel far from home.

IT'S A SMALL WORLD BY SPEEDBIRD

B·O·A·C

BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORPORATION
WITH Q.E.A., S.A.A., T.E.A.L

For the man of to-day

A bad posture in your office chair wrecks your stomach muscles — they get slack, soft, and protect you no more. Linia Belts support you and tone-up the muscles — you look fitter, you feel fitter and you tire less easily.

Price including the Linia Jock Strap
From £4 . 4 . 0 and 3 coupons

LINIA BELT

SOLD ONLY BY

J. ROUSSEL LTD

REGENT STREET, LONDON, W.1

Phone : REG 7570, and at Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester etc

Cross-Section
OF THE WORLD'S PRESS

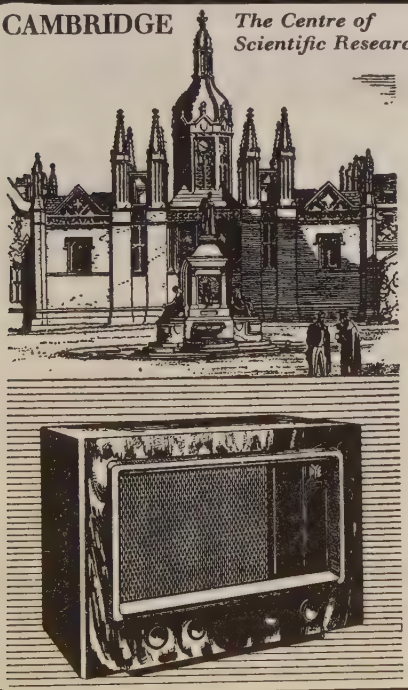
Moral Crisis

SOMETHING was said last week about the extent to which the nation's crisis is an economic one or a moral one and the way in which what looks like bad morale may merely be bad economics. But there is one place where the crisis is wholly moral, and that is in Downing Street. No one but a fool would pretend that he knows how to solve the nation's problems. But it is not very difficult to suggest quite a number of things that could be done and would certainly both exercise the right influence at home and give the necessary evidence to foreign observers (whose verdict will be final) that the ability and the will to recover still exist. One would be to start the immediate export of coal, if possible from increased production, but if necessary at the cost of domestic consumption. Another would be to make it quite clear that food imports will be cut before essential industry is allowed to stop for lack of raw material. A third would be to postpone the bulk of the housing programme to clear the way for productive capital projects—those, that is to say, that will directly result in increased production, especially of food, power and exports, within three years. A fourth would be to face the fact that these large capital projects can only be accomplished at the cost of consumption and that they can only be prevented from causing inflation by deliberately cutting the national consumption until they are wholly financed by current savings—which involves creating a real budget surplus, either by economies in expenditure or by increases in taxation, of some £400 millions or more.

These things are terribly difficult for politicians to attempt. But until somebody in Downing Street acquires the moral courage to demand that they be done, and to endanger his place and his popularity to get them done, the nation will continue to slither rudderless from weak expedient to unworkable compromise.

The Economist

CAMBRIDGE *The Centre of Scientific Research*



The resources of the Pye Laboratories at Cambridge have been concentrated upon the design of a range of highly efficient radio receivers. The results are to be enjoyed in their magnificent 'Fidelity' performance, easy tuning and outstanding value for money.

PYE

TEST THESE SPECIAL FEATURES

- *'Fidelity' Reproduction*
- *'Tonemaster'*
- *'Flywheel' Tuning*

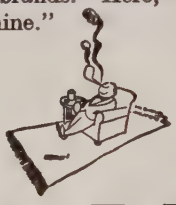
Model 15A (illustrated). A 3 wave-band, 4 valve, superhet receiver for A.C. mains. Excellent performance, attractive appearance, fine quality of tone. £17.17.0, plus Purchase Tax £3.16.9.

PYE LIMITED
RADIO WORKS, CAMBRIDGE

N&P5

"No thanks... I'll stick to my own"

" I don't want to be rude, old chap, but Wills's Cut Golden Bar is one tobacco that men remain faithful to. No chopping or changing, or trying different brands. Here, try some of mine."



WILLS'S

CUT GOLDEN BAR

CB127 EE

You can qualify for one of these

WELL-PAID CAREERS

Send for FREE Guide

Today's demand is for the TRAINED man with SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE. The men who succeed are those who qualify to fill higher-paid positions by acquiring the necessary Specialized knowledge to fit them for such positions. Fortunately you can obtain the necessary knowledge and qualifications by spare-time home study. Our 25 years' experience is at your service. Send the coupon today.

POST THIS COUPON

Please send FREE details concerning

.....

Name .....

Address .....

253B .....

Here is a Career for YOU

Accountancy	Time and Motion Study
Secretaryship	Production Planning
Costing	Machine Shop Practice
Book-keeping	Foundry Work
Business Training	Welding
G.P.O. Examinations	Jig and Tool Design
Civil Service	Press Tool Design
Matriculation	Engineering Science
Salesmanship	Pattern Making
Sales Management	Fuel Technology
Export	Moulding
Personnel Management	Metallurgy
Draughtsmanship	Steel Making
Works Management	Process Planning
Foremanship	Tool Making

WALLACE ATTWOOD COLLEGE Ltd

Dept. 253B Attwood House, Finchley Road, London, N.W.3

or call: 8 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1

Diplomatic Smile

I HAD lunch with Señor Elpidio Quirino, Vice-President of the Philippines, when he was on his recent visit here.

He seemed a cheerful, shrewd man and appeared to be enjoying every moment of his stay. He was much impressed by our Parliamentary democracy. When the treaty was made between the U.S.A. and the Philippines, the President said that the Philippines would follow in 'the glittering wake of the U.S.A.' Someone asked the Vice-President whether they had yet found that 'all that glitters is not gold.' The Vice-President smiled a diplomatic smile.

Eastern World

Employee–Partnership

NEW ZEALAND, like Denmark, is looked upon as being one of the small social laboratories of the world. Here the Arbitration Court system of dealing with industrial disputes had its genesis, and is still in being. Once New Zealand was called 'a country without strikes', but for several decades now we have, despite the Arbitration Court and the fact that nearly all organised labour works under that system, strikes or stoppages of work almost daily. Clearly, something more is needed to solve the problem of industrial unrest.

Profit-sharing and other incentive schemes have been tried too, but here as elsewhere, despite a seeming success here and there, it is obvious that something more than the money motive must be appealed to for general success.

Hence a cardinal feature of the Plan is that there shall be a limitation of the rewards to capital, these being kept down to the rate of interest, comparable with the current rate of interest on national loans. After payment of such interest, which is cumulative, and the usual provisions made for reserves, depreciation and all other costs of production, the remaining profits go to labour. Where the owners are active workers in the industry (either as managers or executives) they, too, are classed as 'labour'. Under Employee–Partnership, what are called 'Labour Shares' are issued, without payment, to all employees who have passed a probationary period, according to their grading as workers. Thus the management are also listed under 'labour', including the owners if they work in the business, and the owners in such case draw dividends upon both their capital and labour shares.

Working Together

"In the present state of medical knowledge..."

Never has good health—of the individual and of the nation—been a more vital necessity than at present. Never have doctors been more ready to admit that the medical discoveries of to-morrow may contradict the accepted beliefs of to-day. Yet one health-truth is unassailable: to withstand the strain of these harassing days, nerves need adequate supplies of organic phosphorus and protein. In other words, they need 'Sanatogen' Nerve Tonic, for 'Sanatogen' contains organic phosphorus and protein in their most easily assimilable form. Ask your chemist if he has a tin: supplies are being distributed as fairly as possible.

'SANATOGEN'
Regd. Trade Mark
NERVE TONIC

In one size only for the time being—
7/5d. (including Purchase Tax).

8B A 'GENATOSAN' Product.

LEARN A NEW LANGUAGE *by* LINGUAPHONE

The Linguaphone method of learning languages is so entertaining that once you start it you can't put it aside, so practical that it enables you to begin speaking, reading and writing before you finish the first lesson, and so efficient that it will make you a complete linguist in a few months. It is the simplest, most natural and thorough method ever invented.

First you listen, then you speak

You learn quickly because you enjoy learning. You hear the language faultlessly spoken on your gramophone by expert native teachers. Very soon you become so sound-perfect and word-perfect that you begin speaking, reading and writing fluently.

WRITE FOR 26-PAGE BOOK AND WEEK'S FREE TRIAL

Post the coupon for the 26-page book which gives full particulars and will enable you to have a complete course in your own home free for a week.

21 languages, including French, German and Spanish

LINGUAPHONE

.....FOR LANGUAGES.....

(Dept. X.29)

NAME.....
(*Block Caps.*)
ADDRESS.....

.....

To the Linguaphone Institute (Dept. X.29)
Linguaphone House, 207 Regent St., London, W.1

Please send me, post free, your 26-page book about the quick, new and easy Linguaphone way of learning languages.

I am interested in the.....language(s)

for.....purposes

(*I have/have no gramophone.*)

NEW SMOKING JOY!

READ HOW RONSONOL—THE DE-ODORISED LIGHTER FUEL—GIVES YOU 4 BIG ADVANTAGES.

1. *Won't spoil flavour of cigarette, pipe or cigar.*
2. *Makes your lighter* leap *into life.*
3. *Burns clean—keeps your lighter spotless.*
4. *No unpleasant smell in pocket or handbag.*

Your tobacconist sells Ronsonol in big, easy-pour bottles that fill the average lighter 76 times for 1/6½d. Specially refined for RONSON—makers of the world's greatest lighter. For lighter perfection use Ronsonol with Ronson flints. S.O.S! Do *please* return your empty Ronsonol bottles to your tobacconist.

STOP THAT COLD WITH VAPEX

INHALANT

Breathe the pleasant, fragrant vapour from your handkerchief

Of Chemists 2/3

V232 THOMAS KERFOOT & CO. LTD.

'Dognapping'

SOME Germans and 'strays' of other European nationalities have taken to dognapping for ransom in marks, cigarettes or food, creating a new 'crime wave' that has American and British officers and occupation officials pouring out radio descriptions and newspaper ads. to recover missing poodles and setters.

The kidnapping racket works this way: Your dog goes out before bedtime, as dogs must if there are no trees in your living room, and without a leash. Friskily he bounces out of sight. You wait for the pup's usual scratching to get back in the house. But Stumblebum Bingo or Queenie often doesn't come back.

Eight of my friends lost their pups in three days, all in the same neighbourhood. Army Radio put out a string of calls from officers and G.I.s describing dogs they had lost. Every dinner guest knows of another dog gone.

Often the dog is gone for good, sold to a pet shop in another zone, or directly to a Russian (good customers for dogs), an Englishman, or an American who is willing to take a chance on not meeting up with the owner. There is a widespread belief that some dogs are eaten. One German was recently convicted of killing an American-owned dog to get food, he said, for his mother.

If the owner gets his dog back, its return almost always depends on how much ransom is to be paid. In dognapping, however, the owner must make the first move, by newspaper or radio advertising with the all-important phrase that 'no questions will be asked.'

The best method is to tack written notices on neighbourhood trees, preferably trees favoured by the lost pet, emphasising that the dog is missing from an American or British home.

My dog, a fifty-pound Airedale, was gone a week. He was returned, after posting of the proper trees, on a no-questions-asked basis for two packages of cigarettes and two chocolate bars as the 'reward for finding him.'

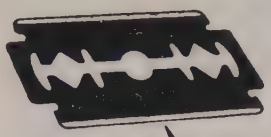
World Report

Reward of Thrift!

'How did you do it?' inquired a reporter of a country editor who had just retired with $100,000 in savings.

The editor replied that it was because he had run his paper economically, worked early and late, kept away from domino and gin-rummy games, and because an uncle had died and left him $120,000.

New York Herald-Tribune

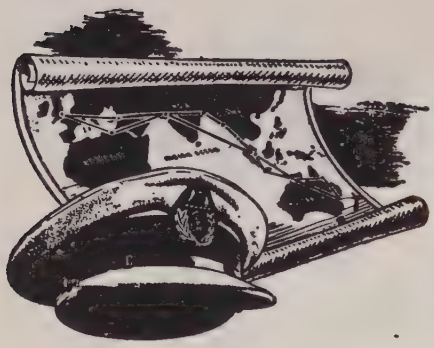


The stronger the edge— the longer its life!

A razor blade must be strong if it is to retain its sharpness. Gillette edges have three facets which form a shoulder or buttress — giving strength where an unsupported edge soon breaks down. Because they are both sharp and strong, Gillette blades give you cleaner, smoother shaves — yet reduce shaving costs by longer life.

2/6 FOR **10**
INCL. TAX

'Good Mornings' begin with Gillette



Empire Builder

THROUGH twenty-five years of achievement as Australia's *INTERNATIONAL* Airline, Qantas has played a major role in British Air supremacy. Partner with B.O.A.C. of the 'Kangaroo' Service to Australia, Qantas helps strengthen the bonds of Empire.

Qantas
Empire
Airways

In association with
BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORPORATION

B·O·A·C

Most compact Binoculars made. Weigh 7 oz. Absolute crystal clear lenses. Ideal for Holidays and sporting events. Price 45/-. Post, etc., 1/-. Also W.D. model full size Binoculars complete in case and leather slings, £3 10s., post, etc. 1/-. Very special 6 lens Achromatic model £5 19s. 6d., complete in case, etc., post 1/. Telescopes also available.

GENUINE ADMIRALTY

COMBINED STOVE, COOKER LANTERN

Portable Economic Paraffin Burner, impossible to blow out. Complete stock purchased of these three-in-one stove, cooker and lantern. Manufactured of sheet steel, not pressed tin. Without exaggeration will really last a lifetime. Cost £7 7s. to make, clearance 25/-., carriage etc., 2s. 6d. Solid Copper model 7s. 6d. extra. Don't wait for cuts in fuel.

Genuine Ex-Railway & Ship Tarpaulins

Genuine ex-Railway HEAVYWEIGHT TARPAULINS. Reconditioned. Guaranteed good condition, 280 sq. ft. £5. 140 sq. ft. £2 10s. 70 sq. ft. £1, 2 for 39/-, 4 for 77/6. carr. free. Excellent all-purpose covering, will make ideal ground sheets. *No coupons or permits required.*

Ex-Army Bell Tents. Sectional centre pole and all accessories. Thoroughly reconditioned. Sleeps 8. Ht. 9'6". Circ. 44'. £8 15s. MARQUEES, 30' x 20', ht. 14'. £38 15s. complete. Also larger sizes in stock.

HEADQUARTER & GENERAL SUPPLIES LTD
(Dept. WOR/BIN/1) 196-200 Coldharbour Lane, LONDON, S.E.5.
One minute from Loughborough Junction Station, London

After-lunch *alertness*

Present day demands on individual productiveness call for day-long activity. Drowsiness after meals can be, and often is, attributable to indigestion. The time-proved remedy for digestive ailments is "Dr. Jenner's Absorbent Lozenges". This 150 years old specific, discovered by Dr. Jenner of Vaccination fame, has been increasingly recommended by five generations of Physicians.

Prices 1/5 and 3/4½, obtainable from Chemists everywhere, or send a post card to the address below for helpful literature and Free Sample in handy pocket-case of "Dr. Jenner's Absorbent Lozenges".

SAVORY & MOORE LTD. (Dept. S.B.)
143, New Bond Street, London, W.1

Dr. JENNER'S

Cutting it Fine

WOMAN required for Domestic Duties approximately 28 hours each week; the rate of pay is 1s. 5.398d. per hour at present. Applications should be sent as soon as possible to the undersigned. City of Nottingham Education Committee.

Advert. in *Nottingham Evening Post*

American Point of View

THE average American needs to be convinced that he is not being 'played for a sucker.' He knows the plight of Europe is desperate, but he is not so sure that the governments of Europe who are the channels for his investment are not going to divert it to ends of their own and leave him, poor credulous fool, a victim of his own charity and their artifice. Americans old enough to remember the 1914–18 war are also old enough to remember the war debts and the 'Shylock' cartoons; Americans who can only remember the 1939–45 war are not without equally powerful, and far more recent, recollections—of Russian non-recognition of Lend-Lease, of allegations that dollar diplomacy animated American payments to UNRRA, of British politicians protesting against the negotiation of the American loan and the same politicians urging its repudiation, when obtained. It is of little importance that to all these controversies there are two sides and that there are other generosities besides those of Spam and dollars—of little importance because in the immediate situation it is still the same side to which Europe looks for assistance, and still Spam and dollars in which she wishes American generosity to express itself. No doubt a nation long schooled in the arts of world government, confident of itself and sharp-set on its objectives would care little what reaction its subsidies provoked, provided they produced the concrete results at which it aimed. But the United States is no such nation—nor could be, without becoming imperialist to an extent which even its critics never imagine. To a degree which interferes with its own best interests it is sensitive to what is said and thought about it, sensitive above all to being led up the garden path by cynical confidence men. To rebuff its overtures is consequently not difficult. Marshal Tito has learnt the art to perfection.

The Fortnightly

The Future is YOURS
Prepare for it NOW

What about your future? What of the new great world of today? There are marvellous opportunities, but only for those who have had specialized training. One thing is certain—there is not, and never will be, a worth-while place for the untrained.

Ambitious men everywhere have succeeded through I.C.S. Home-Study Courses. So also can you. We offer you the benefit of our 56 years' matchless experience as creative pioneers of technical instruction by post.

Here are some of the subjects in which we offer thoroughly sound instruction:

ACCOUNTANCY
ADVERTISING
AERONAUTICAL ENG.
ARCHITECTURE
BOILERMAKING
BOOK-KEEPING
BUILDING
BUILDING SPECIF.
BUSINESS M'G'MENT
CARPENTRY
CHEMISTRY, I. & O.
CIVIL ENGINEERING
CLERK OF WORKS
COMMERCIAL ART
COMMERCIAL TR'NG.
CONCRETE ENG.
DIESEL ENGINES
DRAUGHTSMANSHIP (State which branch)
DRAWING OFFICE PRAC.
ELECTRICAL ENG.
ELECTRIC POWER, LIGHTING, TRANSMISSION, TRACTION
FIRE ENGINEERING
FREE-LANCE JOURNALISM
FUEL TECHNOLOGY
HEATING & VENT.
HYDRAULIC ENG.
HYDRO-ELECTRIC
ILLUMINATION ENG.
INDUST'L M'G'MENT
INTERNAL COMB. ENG.
MACHINE DESIGNING
MACHINE-TOOL W'K.
MARINE ENG.
MECHANICAL ENG.
MECH. DRAWING
MINING
MOTOR ENGINEERING
MOTOR MECHANIC
PLASTICS
PLUMBING
QUANTITY SURVEY'G
RADIO ENGINEERING
RADIO SERVICE ENG.
REFRIGERATION
SALES M'G'MENT
SANITARY ENG.
SHEET-METAL WORK
SHORT-STORY WR'T'G.
STEAM ENGINEERING
STRUCTURAL STEEL
SURVEYING (State which branch)
TELEGRAPH ENG.
WELDING
WOODWORKING
WORKS ENGINEERING
WORKS M'G'MENT

EXAMS: The various Accountants, Inst. of Bookkeepers, Advertising Assoc., Sales Managers' Assoc., London Matric., etc., Oxford and Cambridge Local, Col. of Preceptors, and many others. E.J.B.C. Prelim., I.Mech.E., I. Fire.E., B. Inst. Radio Eng., P.M.G. Wireless Operators, B.O.T. Certificates, I.Elec.E., C. & G. Elec., R.I.B.A., R.I.C.S.

Write to the I.C.S. Advisory Dept., stating your requirements and your hopes. Our advice is free.

——YOU MAY USE THIS COUPON——

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS

Dept. 3, International Buildings, Kingsway, London, W.C.2

Please send me particulars of your Courses in

.....

Name ..... Age .....

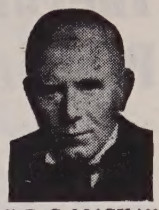
Address .....

.....

ICS

Thousands of School of Accountancy Students have risen from the ranks to

SUCCESSFUL CAREERS



J. D. C. MACKAY
Founder

as Directors, Managers, Accountants, Company Secretaries, Cost Accountants, Works Managers, Office Managers, Auditors, Company Registrars, Local Government Officers, Stores Controllers, Cashiers, Chief Clerks—and in other Executive appointments at

Salaries ranging from £350 to £2,000 a Year

School of Accountancy Postal Tuition brings success and security to average men and women who have the initiative to qualify for responsible positions. There are also Courses in Business Training for youths and young ladies. Eminent University Lecturers testify to the thoroughness and efficiency of The School's Tuition Service.

Send for this 170-page FREE GUIDE to Careers

the most valuable book ever published on Careers in Commerce, Industry and Public Service. Like thousands of others, you can date success in your career from the day you send for it. Read the inspiring records of Students in every branch of administration and in Matriculation, Professional and Commercial Examinations. Learn how you can obtain free advice from the Careers Adviser. *CIVIL SERVICE.*—Full information sent free on request. State age and education.

The School of Accountancy

74 REGENT HOUSE, GLASGOW, C.2
SHELL HOUSE, JOHANNESBURG

HOW TO LEARN LANGUAGES

THE problem of learning a Foreign Language in half the usual time has at last been solved. The Pelman method is enabling thousands of men and women to learn languages without any of the usual drudgery. By the Pelman method you learn French in French, German in German, Spanish in Spanish, and Italian in Italian. English is not used at all.

Specially reduced fees for serving and ex-service members of His Majesty's Forces

Grammatical complexities are eliminated. You pick up the grammar almost unconsciously as you go along. The whole of the instruction is given through the post.

The Pelman method of learning languages is explained in four little books, one for each language:

FRENCH, SPANISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN
(Also Courses in Afrikaans and Urdu)

You can have a free copy of any one of these books, together with a specimen lesson, by writing for it today to:—

PELMAN LANGUAGES INSTITUTE,
127, Norfolk Mansions, Wigmore St., London, W.1

Stories Wanted

We revise according to the Scientific System of fiction-writing and submit to Editors on a 15 per cent. of sales basis. Unsuitable stories are returned with reasons for rejection

BM/BOOK **Mention this Periodical**

The Sign of SCIENCE and SALES

BRITISH INSTITUTE of FICTION-WRITING SCIENCE L[TD]

REGENT HOUSE · REGENT ST · LONDON · W·1·

The Fisc'll Get You

ONE day last week a plump, sleek Parisian downed his second dry martini, wriggled on the red leather stool of the Champs-Elysées bar, and leaned confidentially toward the bartender. 'In March I paid a million for my Studebaker,' he said. 'Now I'll sell it for half. I could pay the price for the car. I can pay for gas, although it's nearly ruining me. But with the "fisc", it's too much for me.'

Translated, the remarks meant that the wealthy black-marketer had persuaded a co-operative American to buy and import an American car and 'give' it to him in exchange for a 'gift' of 1,000,000 francs (about $8,400 at the legal rate of exchange). This shiny American model had eaten up gas at the black-market price of 60 francs a litre, which the black-marketer found costly but bearable. But the final blow, that he could not take, was the knowledge that under France's newly stiffened income tax, the 'fisc' (Treasury) would count his car as an 'external sign of wealth' and tax him per unit of horsepower. *News Week*

Better than Nylons!

THE following letter, addressed to 'The Boss, Columbia British Productions', has been received at Nettlefold Studios, where Columbia are filming *The First Gentleman*, starring Cecil Parker, Jean-Pierre Aumont, and Joan Hopkins:

'Dear Sir: When Britain is importing so few luxuries, I can scarcely thank you enough for bringing over that gifted, fascinating Frenchman—Jean-Pierre Aumont.

'I fell madly in love with him when I saw him in *Le Deserteur*, which the doorman of the Curzon Cinema (London) assures me I saw thirteen times!

'When he starts work (what a horrible word to apply to anything so entrancing as the "emoting" of Jean-Pierre Aumont) I shall see that there are flowers in his dressing room every day.

'Any time he has a few hours off, just tie him up in cellophane and red ribbon and send him round to me.

'He is so dignified and sweet, has such tender appeal and is so full of French fire and dangerous allure!

'He's better than nylons, more than a mink coat, "un homme magnifique et adorable!" Vive la France!—Vive Jean-Pierre Aumont!'

News from Columbia Pictures

Biro-

ATTENTION!

And now

ROYAL BLUE INK

The colour of Biro ink has been changed to Royal Blue as a result of a majority vote by users of BIRO. The present Blue-Black ink is still available and is recommended by us for use in business and legal documents where a higher degree of light-fastness is desirable. With both colours BIRO writes for months without refilling, and continues to offer the many advantages now known to everybody.

BIROS and Biro refills are obtainable from your retail stationer.

THE MILES MARTIN PEN CO. LTD.
67 BROOK STREET, LONDON, W.1

LOUIS POIRIER & Co.

Wine & Cognac Merchants

Since 1858

65 FRITH STREET, LONDON, W.1

have limited quantities of French Wines to offer at Controlled prices.

Telephone: GERrard 6070

BE A SUCCESSFUL WRITER!

Take up now this ideal spare-time work. For 25 years Mr. Frank Potter, Principal of the London College of Authorship, has trained average men and women to earn spare-time incomes of £10 a week upward by his personal Postal Tuition in Article and Story Writing. Why not YOU?

¶ Learn just what things Editors want, how to write them, how to sell. Test free the most fascinating and paying spare-time work of this journalistic age.

¶ Write To-day for free Book and learn the Secrets of Successful Authorship. Write ('Free Book W.R., 31 please' on a postcard will do):

The London College of Authorship
(Dept. W.R.31), 3 Parkshott, Richmond, S.W.

BRITISH-CANADIAN ARCTIC EXPEDITION OF 1936-1941

Extract from Leader T. H. Manning's letter

25th Nov. '46

"I did not leave the Arctic until 1941 *. . . I believe, however, that while I was in the North, I wrote to say how much all the members of the Expedition had enjoyed your Tobacco and how well it retained its quality even after the Tins had been soaked for some time in sea water . . . A short while ago I went through some boxes containing Expedition Effects (returned from Baffin Island) that had been stored in Montreal since* 1941. *In one of them were a few tins of Barneys supplied to us in* 1936. *In spite of the 4½ years in the Arctic and six hot Montreal summers, it appears to be in excellent condition and I thought you might like to sample the two tins I am sending to you."*

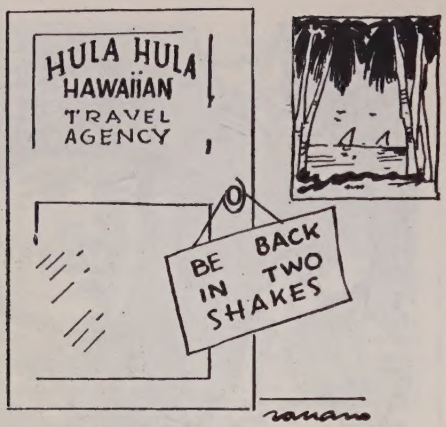
The original letter can be inspected on request. Those returned Tins opened out in perfect condition.

Barneys

Barneys (*medium*), **Punchbowle** (*full*), **Parsons Pleasure** (*mild*). **4/1 oz.**

295

Made by John Sinclair Ltd. Newcastle-on-Tyne



SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Curious

An enterprising literary gent has unearthed a very curious fact. In any census returns, more women put down their ages as between 20 and 25 years than there were girls between 10 and 15 years of age a decade previously.

The Cross

First to the Moon!

The struggle for the conquest of the Moon is open. Very soon we shall be able to go, in a few hours, to the white star. Who will be the first to plant a flag on this spot in the universe?

A large English newspaper replies to this question by wishing that it may be France.

Why? Because the French will live in the Moon and not think any more of the Earth.

If the first occupants were to be the Americans, they would distribute chewing-gum, cigarettes and religious works until they were utterly exhausted. After that they would never think again of going home.

The Russians would arrange political conferences with the natives until they took to the jungle.

The English would busy themselves at once with putting into operation a vigorous system of rationing which would disgust the 'Moonites' and make rebels of them.

The French, on the other hand, would teach the natives how to make an omelette and a veal escalope. And that would be the most perfect piece of luck. That is why everybody must hope that the French will be the first to reach the moon.

La France au Combat

Act Your Age!

The woman who signed her letter 'In Love' wrote:

'My son brought a classmate of his home for a visit. He is 23 . . . and my son is 22. The minute I saw this boy, I felt an irresistible desire for him and he seemed to enjoy my company . . . I am 40 years old—although I have been told by many I do not look 30 . . . Now this boy is madly in love with me and I am with him. He has asked me to marry him, and when I told my son he ridiculed the idea. . . .'

Barbara Holmes, lovelornist of the *Washington Times-Herald* answered:

'Act your age.'

News Week

Wide Eyed and Gasping!

You may wonder why perfume bounded to the spot of No. 1 wartime luxury. The answer probably lies in those star-dripping advertisements. A woman reads about a perfume that is 'for rubies, for rain, for reconciliation', and rushes out to buy some. Housewives find it hard to resist a fragrance that is 'for the hands of an empress and the feet of a nymph'. Then there are *Rosadell*—'sultry, tropic, mysterious . . . a mood of midnight drama'; *Precious Platine*, one drop of which 'could make a blonde the most ravishing thing in life'; *Secret de Suzanne*, which is 'truly the fragrance of intrigue'. Small wonder that the girls are left wide-eyed and gasping! . . .

Collier's Magazine (U.S.A.)

Only Bacteria?

Bacteria actually die when subjected to jazz, according to a chemist in Europe. He divided a pound of fresh meat into six pieces, placed each in a tin can, and subjected them all to equal temperatures. Three of the pieces were then exposed to a half-hour of recorded music daily. At the end of the fourth day these were still fresh, while those which had not received the music treatment were infected with germs of putrefaction.

Variety

Things they Say

The secret of successful journalism consists in making people so angry that they will write half your paper for you.

DR. C. E. M. JOAD

Printed in Gt. Britain at The Curwen Press Ltd., Plaistow, London, for the Proprietors, Review of Reviews Ltd., 43–44 Shoe Lane, London, E.C.4, and published by Hulton Press Ltd. Sole Agents for Australia and New Zealand, Gordon & Gotch (Australasia) Ltd.; for South Africa, Central News Agency Ltd. Registered for Canadian and Newfoundland Magazine Post.